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THE *Nation*

A.N.G.

February 26, 1949

Communists and the Right to Teach

*Part One of a Debate: The Case
Against Communists in the Schools*

BY JOHN L. CHILDS

✱

Good Days for Nazis

Exclusive Report from Inside Germany

BY "CAROLUS"

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Is Reading Here to Stay?

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 168

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 26, 1949

NUMBER 10

The Shape of Things

WITH THE FRENCH CANTONAL ELECTIONS coming in March, Prime Minister Queuille is doing all he can to maintain the political truce created to secure the success of his reconstruction loan. The loan has so far proved successful, the dollar has fallen in the "parallel market," and minor ministerial changes like the replacement of the ailing and much criticized André Marie by Robert Lecourt in the Ministry of Justice have helped the astute Premier to duck the blows of the double opposition. But nobody acquainted with the depth of France's unresolved crisis would give the truce more than just enough time to carry it through the elections. This became clear in the second congress of De Gaulle's "Rassemblement," at which the General delivered one of the most important and alarming speeches of his stubbornly conducted campaign. In itself the speech was full of apparent concessions and attempts to attract the other right and center groups: no more was said about revision of the constitution or reformation of the state, and very little about the other reforms on which he had insisted as means of checking the decline in political and public morality. But a single phrase of the original text, proclaiming the obligation to "expel the usurpers," implied clearly an intention to take power by force unless the present government arranged early general elections to permit a "democratic" Gaullist victory. This threat opened a more disturbing prospect than De Gaulle's previous attacks on the constitution. The phrase quoted above appeared in the text distributed to the press, but the General must have realized its gravity, for he omitted it in delivering the speech. As for the Communists, they have not given up their tactic of voting with the Gaullist group every time the Cabinet is in difficulties, and in the electoral campaign they are voicing undiminished hostility to the Third Force and its government. The Queuille truce therefore promises to be of short duration.

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MORE THAN THE ALLEGED SKEPTICISM OF A few aircraft manufacturers should be required to force the Reuther "plane-and-homes plan" into the discard. This is the scheme advanced by the head of the United Automobile Workers in his capacity as chairman of the National Housing Committee of the C. I. O. Briefly, it calls for a combination of idle aircraft plants, idle per-

sonnel, idle assembly lines, and government loans for the purpose of producing 20,000,000 prefabricated houses in the next ten years. The military should be satisfied, Mr. Reuther points out, because the plan would keep vital plants in operation, ready to be restored to airplane production in the event of a war emergency. Private builders have no cause for complaint, since they would be given first call on federal financing for this purpose, with the government stepping in only if they proved unwilling to accept the responsibility. As a powerful weapon against depression, the advantages of the plan are obvious, holding out the possibility of government-financed work which not even the Tabers and McCormicks of the country could call boondoggling. Financial details call for drawing on federal old-age benefit funds by way of long-term loans and for cutting military appropriations, which would no longer be forced to include planes produced solely in order to keep plants running and doomed to early obsolescence. Above all, the country would be enabled to demonstrate to the world that its capacity for bold and imaginative action is not confined to the requirements of war but may as readily be applied to satisfy the desperate needs of its citizens in time of peace. Study may reveal technical flaws in the blueprint; local building codes may present obstacles; and certain A. F. of L. craft unions are likely to object. But none of these would seem to be insuperable or to justify the failure of Congress and the Administration to give the plan the most urgent and serious consideration.

✱

THE INJURY TO AGNES SMEDLEY INFLICTED by General MacArthur's intelligence office has not been repaired by the army's admission it had no proof to back up its charge that she was a Russian spy. Only a retraction would do the job, and nothing as unqualified as that is likely to be offered. Just the same, the statement issued at the Pentagon leaves the mighty MacArthur looking worse than silly, since in effect it repudiated the whole lurid, unsubstantiated document, built up out of Japanese police reports, as hasty, unedited, and containing "philosophical" observations improper in an official report. The episode is one more bit of evidence that the cold war has unhinged the nerves of some of our highest military men. They have become the heroes of a Fu-

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1949, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. *Subscription Prices: Domestic*—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Manchu mystery, bent on exposing villainous plotters and carrying on secret operations of their own at whatever cost in decency and good sense. The secret army spy trial in Germany was another preposterous exhibition of the current dementia—a proceeding quite as contemptuous of legal safeguards and as destructive of public confidence as the Mindszenty trial in Hungary. Our army is supposedly an agency of a democratic government; it had better take a cold shower and sober up.

✱

CAUGHT BETWEEN THE THREAT OF PUBLIC health legislation and a mounting rebellion of its members, the American Medical Association has suddenly and pleasantly changed its tune. Its blind opposition to federal legislation of any sort has given way to a substitute proposal; and it now appears likely that the \$25 assessment on members for a \$3,500,000 slush fund, allegedly for propaganda and lobbying, will be considered a voluntary impost. The A. M. A.'s public-health plan contains a few principles which are gratifying, however long it may have taken the association to arrive at them. It recognizes the desperate need for improved medical care, and it urges federal funds to expand facilities for training a greatly augmented corps of doctors, dentists, and nurses. It proposes, moreover, the creation of a federal Department of Health, public-health authorities in each state, and further development of voluntary plans for hospitalization and medical care. Dr. Morris Fishbein, spokesman for the A. M. A., promises that the funds raised by the assessment will be spent on "all the various ways we can aid the cause of voluntary sickness insurance," one of which is certain to be propaganda opposing the government's bill for compulsory insurance. The plan is an advance from the association's original position of intransigence, but it would seem to be more a paper proposition than an earnest proposal. Dr. Thomas M. Rivers, one of more than 150 distinguished doctors who refused to pay the assessment on the ground that the A. M. A. had no program of its own, points out that the plan is "pretty vague, and it does not give much idea of where the money is coming from." Dr. Rivers proposes a study by a nine-man board, including representatives of the profession, of government, and of the general public. Such a project would doubtless be extremely useful, but with 25 per cent of American families unable to finance adequate medical care, the time for studies is fast running out.

✱

IF NEW YORK'S MAYOR WILLIAM O'DWYER wants to salvage anything of his reputation as a trustworthy public official, he will promptly borrow a leaf from the notebook of his illustrious predecessor. When the late Fiorello LaGuardia appointed a particularly un-

suitable candidate to a high city office—and when severely criticised for the action—he had the stature to concede: “When I make a mistake, it’s a beaut.” In warning the Board of Higher Education not to appoint Dr. Bryn J. Hovde to the presidency of Queens College, as it was apparently about to do, O’Dwyer took an unprecedented action which can be charitably regarded as a mistake only if it is followed up by a quick and complete apology to the people of the city. It has the earmarks of something rather more ominous. The Board of Higher Education is empowered to act in accordance with its own best judgment, and in no sense is it supposed to be subject to political pressure from the Mayor. Conceding that he has no authority to interfere in appointments, Mr. O’Dwyer nevertheless called the board members to his office, publicly humiliated them with an arrogant rebuke, and cautioned them against appointing Dr. Hovde on the ground that he was “offensive” to a “majority of the citizens of Queens.” Since not more than a handful of the borough had in any way expressed themselves on the matter, the Mayor must have employed a crystal ball. The truth is that the only real opposition to Dr. Hovde was inspired by an attack in the *Brooklyn Tablet*, official organ of the Roman Catholic diocese, which found Dr. Hovde a “political innocent” who has played into Communist hands. Actually a liberal of the highest integrity, it was Hovde who at a recent congress in Poland vigorously exposed the despotic political basis of Soviet culture. When Gene Talmadge laid his heavy hand on the University of Georgia, that institution lost its accreditation. We hope and believe that the Board of Higher Education will save Queens College from a pressure no more tolerable.

★

AT THE CLOSE OF ITS ANNUAL MEETING THE Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development of the National Education Association unanimously condemned the suppression of *The Nation* and other magazines by various school boards throughout the country. “The function of the school in a democratic society,” the resolution states, “is to guide children and youth . . . by developing their power of critical intelligence. . . . Successful performance of this function depends upon the freedom . . . to explore ideas through access to all media of communication. . . . Censorship of currently unpopular . . . ideas prevents the development of the power of critical discrimination and tends to establish a coercive concept of Americanism.” This

Coming Soon in “*The Nation*”

How Russia Can Appease the United States

BY RICHARD E. LAUTERBACH

thoughtful statement should be brought to the attention of Commissioner of Education Spaulding as he ponders his decision on the banning of *The Nation* by the New York City schools.

★

THE UNTIMELY DEATH OF POWERS HAPGOOD at his farm near Indianapolis on February 4 takes from the American labor movement one of its most colorful leaders. Born forty-nine years ago into a well-to-do and distinguished family, he devoted his life to the cause of labor. After graduating from Harvard in 1921, he went into the pits as a coal-digger, while his bond-selling classmates stood agape. In 1924 he dug coal for a living around and under the world from England to the Orient. When he got back, he became an organizer for John Brophy, the president of District 2, (Pennsylvania) of the United Mine Workers of America, in the union’s darkest time. As casually as though he were strolling through the Harvard Yard, Hapgood would go into a closed town and call out to the non-union men that the district was on strike. Mounted guards tried to ride him down; frequently he was hauled off to the local calaboose. But as soon as he was free, he would be out organizing again. Word that “Powers Hapgood is coming” gave heart to wavering men. With Brophy and a handful of brilliant labor strategists, Powers Hapgood led the fight against the do-nothing policies of John L. Lewis. Eventually, the insurgents organized in Illinois and challenged Lewis’s right to the presidency. Lewis spent almost the last cent in the union treasury to beat them. He won, but he learned a lesson. When he organized the C. I. O., the first men he chose to lead the new movement were those of his own opposition. Hapgood, Brophy, Adolph Germer, and other miner dissidents won an amazing victory in the C. I. O.’s first important test in the Goodyear strike at Akron. From then on, until the Automobile Workers came to maturity, the pioneer work of organizing the C. I. O. was done by men of the idealism and high courage of Powers Hapgood. He will be sorely missed by a great cross-section of humble men and women.

★

ON THIS PAST MONDAY HAMILTON HOLT, president of Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, conferred a doctorate of humanities upon Mary McLeod Bethune, “one of the fifty most illustrious women in all American history.” It is the first honorary degree ever awarded to a Negro by a white college in the deep South. For the seventy-four-year-old Mrs. Bethune, herself a college president emeritus, the degree is but a crowning honor in a life of enormous achievement. So the occasion, we think, will be remembered even more as an honor to Dr. Holt and Rollins College.

Anna Louise Strong

UNTIL Anna Louise Strong arrives from Russia we shall not learn the real reasons for her arrest and deportation. No one who knows her or has read her many books and articles will easily believe that she engaged in "espionage and undermining activity against the Soviet Union." Her sympathy for Russia has been outspoken and consistent; so much so that some comment in the press has suggested that she is being returned to this country under cover of a charge of espionage in order to be in a better position to subvert innocent Americans. We have a different if less romantic theory derived from reading Miss Strong's new book "Tomorrow's China" as it was serialized in the *Daily Worker* up to the moment, almost, of her arrest.

Without suggesting that the Chinese leaders are anything but convinced Communists, Miss Strong emphasizes over and over the *national* character of their revolution. She explains Mao's belief that "in a country so vast, so chaotic, and with such poor communications as China the 'democratic revolution' need not conquer the entire country at once" but could win "bases," establish reforms, and set up local governments, and then gradually extend its area of influence. She describes frankly, and reports the leaders as frankly admitting, serious political mistakes made by "dogmatists"—many of them "had studied abroad and could quote Marxist theory . . . but their ignorance of China's practical conditions was catastrophic." She summarizes the program submitted by Mao Tse-tung to the Seventh Party Congress in 1945, quoting Mao's significant dictum: "In the entire period of the bourgeois democratic revolution, in a period of several dozens of years, our general program of New Democracy will remain unchanged."

The program itself, as adopted by the congress, provides for gradual revolutionary change based primarily on land reform and on the encouragement of "all forms of productive enterprise—private, cooperative, and public—with collective agreements between workers and management." For various reasons, but particularly because of the strength of the Communist Party and of organized labor, "one need not fear that this capitalism will develop beyond the power of the workers to control it." The program calls for a democratic army "closely integrated with the people." It says Communists "should restrict themselves to not more than one-third of the government posts" and should seek leadership not by superior force but by "correctly analyzing the people's needs and securing general agreement." And so on.

Miss Strong reports Russia's failure to give any aid to the Communist government in Manchuria or even to trade across the border. Without hinting any criticism she shows how seriously this has hampered the efforts

of the Communists to develop their one productive, industrialized area. She describes the "new capitalism" as it is practiced in Kalgan and likens that active center to one of the "queen cities" of the American West, quoting "dapper" Finance Minister Nan as saying: "Here capitalism is young, fighting its way out of feudalism. Here industry is not taxed and prices not controlled." The picture may be overdrawn; accurate or not, it reveals a state of mind that is hardly orthodox.

The Chinese revolution is the most important happening since the end of the war. Its influence may well determine the destiny of all Asia; it will vitally affect the balance of power between Russia and the United States. The exact attitude of the Kremlin toward the expanding Communist regime has not yet been revealed in either action or words. But perhaps the arrest of Anna Louise Strong is an indication. We need not make any sweeping prophecies or attempt an equation between Titoism and Maoism to sense the possibility that Moscow may have reservations about Communist China almost as serious as those entertained, for contrary reasons, in Washington. A few words toward the end of "Tomorrow's China" may hold the key to the mystery of Miss Strong's arrest and to the Kremlin's doubts:

It is to Mao Tse-tung and to Communist China, much more than to present-day Moscow, that the nationalist revolutions of Indonesia, Indo-China, Burma, look for their latest, most practical ideas.

American Don't-Know-How

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

FOR a moment let us forget policy, purposes, even principles; let us consider only how we are doing the various jobs in hand. Here in this world capital of efficiency and know-how, something seems to have gone wrong. With a world to run we throw sand in our own gears and mix our own signals; while the other nations watch with mixed feelings of hope and horror.

The Atlantic Pact is tangled in knots of strictly American manufacture. Nothing could have been more amateurish than the diplomacy applied to the pact negotiations. Obviously we held the whip hand. Since Western Europe depends on us for military as well as economic aid, and since an agreement to supply arms to the participating nations was to wait—by our decision—upon the completion of the pact, we were in a position to force the pace. It was understood, too, that after the text was agreed upon other eligible countries would be asked to join the alliance, first among them the three Scandinavian states, which we insisted on inviting despite some doubts among our collaborators. And not

only did we insist, but apparently we couldn't even wait for the draft to be finished. American diplomats in Norway and Sweden were already urging the adherence of those countries to the pact before there was any pact for them to adhere to. Our obvious object was to dynamite the Copenhagen conference called to negotiate a Scandinavian defensive alliance. And this our emissaries accomplished by widening the division between Sweden, which wanted a neutral agreement, and Norway, which wanted to tie the Scandinavian alliance to the Atlantic Pact. The method was simple if a little crude; the Americans simply warned the Norwegians and Swedes that they would not be eligible to receive American arms unless they joined the pact. We also reacted coldly to the suggestion that the Scandinavian countries might, as Norway advocated, adhere to both. So the three Northern countries were forced to take a stand which would expose them either to an American arms boycott or to Russian hostility and possible sanctions; which threatened their own essential unity; which might easily, if they plumped for the Atlantic Pact, bring Soviet forces into Finland. And all this before the pact was drafted and before they had been given any idea what kind of aid they could expect if they decided to join anyway.

Dr. Lange, the Norwegian Foreign Minister, reported after his talks with Mr. Acheson and others that he had not altered his views about the Atlantic Pact; and the Norwegian Labor Party has voted in favor of joining. But this will merely crystallize the differences among the three Scandinavian states unless Dr. Lange took home assurances which have not been revealed to the public. In fact, it was his brief stay in Washington that precipitated the disturbing constitutional issue.

Perhaps there are no "real differences" between the purposes of the pact as described by the President in his inaugural address and the provision in the Constitution reserving to Congress the right to declare war. But what Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson said did not sound like what Mr. Connally and Mr. Vandenberg said; and the discrepancy was probably more pronounced the farther off you got. In any case Europe was startled and worried, even though some sober newspapers, especially in England, insisted that the pact would depend for its effect not on words but on the intention behind them, and that America clearly intended to defend the Western nations in case of aggression. Such journals pointed to the loose language and the binding effect of the Monroe Doctrine. An intention, however, can change or be heavily qualified, and most correspondents have reported serious anxiety over the successive dilutions in the language of the pact, watering down a clear promise of automatic military aid to a broad formula leaving the signatory powers free to decide what sort of action they would take in case of an armed attack on one of their number.

But the exposure of our constitutional dilemma would have mattered less had it occurred at any other time. European authorities presumably knew all about the provision in the American Constitution covering declarations of war. They had assumed, however, until Dr. Lange's visit and the debate in the Senate brought the differences into the open, that the question had been thrashed out with Congressional leaders before the American negotiators approved the text drawn up by the drafting governments. To discover, when the pact was all but finished, that no understanding had been reached and that the text would have to be further modified to eliminate any promise of military support, was naturally a jolt. What it did was to throw doubt, not so much on the value of the pact, as on the Administration's capacity and common sense. How could the State Department urge speed on the negotiators, chivvying hesitant nations into committing themselves to an uncompleted and risky agreement and even threatening to withhold arms from those who stayed outside, before it had assured itself at least of the approval of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee?

Most European comment on this performance has been restrained, understandably so when one considers the stakes involved and Europe's terrible dependence on this country, but the sober Manchester *Guardian* remarked that the pact negotiations had "obviously been bungled" and that the United States should not have "forced the pace if it was unable to deliver the goods."

SO MUCH for Europe, and the anxieties created by the staggering ineptness of our diplomacy. In America the debate on the Atlantic Pact has not even begun; yet one would think from listening to Administration officials that the only problem involved was how to make a defensive alliance jibe with the Constitution. Even the proposed terms were unknown to the public until the other day. But obviously a pact which if accepted will commit this nation to a new and fateful policy should be discussed fully and on its merits. The Atlantic alliance may or may not be the best way to prevent a war, or, if war comes, to win it. The pact's effect upon the United Nations should be fully explored. It should be weighed against other proposals. And to avoid further misapprehension abroad, the State Department should remind the other drafting powers that under American procedures the Senate may not only require verbal changes to meet constitutional requirements, but recommend substantial changes as well, or reject the treaty altogether. If the department tries to avoid these hazards by high-pressure scare propaganda, it will make another shocking blunder. For even if such tactics should succeed, the decision reached will never assure to the participating powers the one force that can make a treaty stick—the solid backing of the American people.



LIBERTY IN AMERICA

Communists and the Right to Teach

BY JOHN L. CHILDS

[When the University of Washington ruled that affiliation with the Communist Party was incompatible with the duties of a teacher, it sparked a controversy that quickly spread beyond the circle of educators. Dr. Childs argues out of years of experience, not only as professor of the philosophy of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, but also as a political figure, having served as State Chairman of New York's Liberal Party. The opposite point of view, supporting the rights of the expelled Communists, will be presented in the next issue of The Nation by Carey McWilliams, an authority on civil liberties and a staff contributor of this magazine.]

SHOULD persons who are known to be members of the Communist Party be permitted to teach in the educational institutions of our country? This thorny question, involving the fundamentals of American life and education, has been raised in the University of Washington, where after a hearing before the Faculty Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom, and upon recommendation of President Raymond B. Allen, the Board of Regents has dismissed three professors for relations with the Communist Party and put three others on probation for a period of two years. In his account of the hearings T. V. Smith, Maxwell Professor of Citizenship and Philosophy at Syracuse University, has stated that "the proceedings were distinguished throughout by a regard for orderly procedure, by a rather unusual patience, and by solicitude for considerate and due process." I myself, however, have no first-hand knowledge of how the hearings were conducted, and therefore pass no judgment on the merit of these particular decisions. The concern of this article is with the basic problem inherent in the case.

At a meeting last September the National Commission on Educational Reconstruction of the American Federation of Teachers, an affiliate of the A. F. of L., adopted by unanimous vote the following resolution:

The commission believes that membership in the Communist Party is not compatible with service in the educational institutions of the United States. It holds that we misconceive the real nature of the Communist movement in this country when we regard it as a political party organized in accordance with the basic principles of the democratic system of government. The Communist Party has demonstrated by its deeds over a period of years that it functions as a disciplined and conspiratorial agency to advance the interests and the

policies of the Soviet Union. Membership in this authoritarian political movement necessarily involves each Communist in practices that are hostile to the fundamentals of our democratic way of life, and that also negate devotion to truth and to those principles of disinterested inquiry which are the essence of scholarship.

The commission recognizes the right and the obligation of our government at this time to take due steps to assure itself of the loyalty of those engaged in public service, including education. It believes, however, that the public interest as well as justice to individuals requires that all such investigations be undertaken with a real regard for the high values at stake, and under procedures that will adequately safeguard the rights of individuals. In our effort to remove from positions of public trust those whose first loyalty is to a foreign power, we must not introduce a reign of terror which will not only injure individuals but will also interfere with the effective operation of our own political and educational institutions.

The commission is composed of both public-school and university teachers, as well as local and national officers of the American Federation of Teachers. Two of its members have served for more than a decade as members of the Committee on Academic Freedom of the American Civil Liberties Union. The present chairman of the commission, Arthur Elder of Detroit, is a pioneer leader in the workers'-education movement and has had direct experience of the ruthless way in which certain economic forces seek to curb the processes of free inquiry and teaching. It is doubtful whether any other educational agency during the past thirty years has surpassed the work of the Federation of Teachers in the struggle for academic security and freedom.

It is therefore significant that the federation should have been among the first of our national educational organizations to conclude that "membership in the Communist Party is not compatible with service in the educational institutions of the United States." Its action is the product of years of experience and of reflection on that experience. Its leaders have learned through first-hand participation in the fields of labor, politics, and education that there are Communists in the United States, that the Communist movement has both present and potential power, and that the practices of the Communist Party have introduced a new and stubborn problem into the public affairs of our country. This problem will not be resolved in a democratic manner so long as

liberals are unable to confront it because they are enthralled by the notion that liberty is an absolute value—one and indivisible. By "absolute" value is meant a value that is conditioned neither by other values nor by novel developments in human affairs and is apparently automatically defined for all observers. Even when as fundamental a human interest as human liberty is at stake, we should not permit catch phrases derived from earlier experience and thought to substitute for that practice of observation, discrimination, and evaluation of consequences in actual-life situations which is the foundation of reflective morality.

Experience can of course distort as well as enrich the thought of human beings. The fact that the conclusions of the Commission of the American Federation of Teachers are based on direct experience does not of itself validate the inferences drawn from that experience. But of two things we may be reasonably sure: the views of this commission are not the rationalizations of a group whose special privileges dispose them to resist changes in our existing system of economy and government, nor are they the product of a mounting tide of "red hysteria." Its conviction concerning the Communist Party is based on four considerations: (1) a conception of American democracy, (2) a theory of the functions and responsibilities of teachers in that democracy, (3) a view of the real nature of communism as now practiced in our country, and (4) a belief that educators should not evade their responsibility for defining what is acceptable conduct for the members of their profession. Let us briefly examine each of these considerations.

FOR the purposes of this discussion American democracy will be construed as the deliberate effort to organize and maintain a society that has regard for the worth and dignity of all its members and that seeks to accord them equal treatment, irrespective of factors of race, creed, sex, or national ancestry. A society of this kind is committed by its democratic purpose to the continuous search for means of improving its ways of living, not to the authoritarian preservation of the status quo. Civil liberties are foundational in this democratic system of government, for it is through the processes of free association, inquiry, discussion, proposal, education, voting, and legislation that injustices in existing laws and institutions are brought to public attention, that knowledge of alternative developments in other countries is made available, that proposals for reconstruction are projected and matured, and that governments are formed and reformed. Obviously, the ultimate test of this principle of government through the method of enlightenment and peaceful persuasion is whether it can be made to function in those areas of life where real tensions exist and drastic reconstructions are required to maintain an equality of conditions. A democratic society

which thus seeks to legalize the process of social change makes more, not less, exacting demands on the emotional and intellectual maturity of its members than does an authoritarian system. It is important to remember that democracy is after all a system of government; it is not a form of anarchy. The members of a democratic society have their allegiances and duties as well as their rights, their responsibilities as well as their freedoms, their disciplines as well as their privileges.

If a group believes itself to be oppressed and without means of attaining relief through established procedures, it has of course the "right" to direct action. But it should be clear that this "right to revolutionary action" is *moral*, not constitutional, in nature. Not even a "free" society can give legal sanction and protection to those who repudiate its democratic procedures in order to engage in a conspiratorial effort to overthrow the existing order. Tolerance cannot be made absolute in any organized society. It is also true, however, that the ultimate stability and security of a democratic society do not reside primarily in its police power but in its continuing ability to command the support of the people, in its demonstrated capacity to resolve its problems and to use its resources to meet human needs.

THE foregoing characteristics of a democratic society have definite implications for the conduct of education. The freedoms, the disciplines, and the loyalties of the democratic way of life are not inborn; they can be continued only as they are learned anew by each succeeding generation. The educational needs of a democratic society are therefore both intellectual and moral. American democracy has every right to expect its schools to nurture the young in the habits, the techniques, the responsibilities, the faiths, and the allegiances that are essential to its survival and fulfilment. A good teacher is one who respects his pupils and who is concerned to develop their powers so that they can share in the ways of a free society. He does whatever he can to help each student become intellectually independent and morally responsible—equipped to cooperate with his fellows in the pursuit of truth and in the development of a good society.

It follows that the opportunity to teach in the schools and colleges of our country is not an unqualified right. Teaching is a public function and responsibility, and only those should be certified who have the necessary qualifications. Loyalty to the values of a free society along with devotion to the things of the mind are among the most fundamental of these qualifications. Those who select, appoint, and dismiss teachers in our country are not employing arbitrary tests when they judge teachers by their scholarship, their regard for their pupils, and their devotion to the fundamentals of our democratic way of living. By the "fundamentals" of our democracy is meant not this or that particular institutional form but

the basic procedures by which a democratic society formulates and enacts its purposes.

We turn now to the question of whether members of the Communist Party can meet these intellectual and moral standards. On this crucial issue we will let the Communists speak for themselves, and then we will look at the record to see whether they literally mean what they say. We begin with the Communist conception of morality as defined by Lenin.

We say that our morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. Our morality is deduced from the class struggle of the proletariat. . . . The class struggle is still proceeding, and our task is to subordinate everything to the interests of this struggle.

Stalin, in an interview with H. G. Wells, gave a concise formulation of the educational correlative of this Communist view of morality:

Education is a weapon whose effect depends on who holds it in his hands and at whom it is aimed.

In its description of the nature of membership in the Communist Party the *Daily Worker* defines what is meant by the subordination of everything to the interests of the struggle of the proletariat:

In general, membership in the Communist Party is open to any person from the age of eighteen up who accepts the program and rules of the Communist International and of the Communist Party in the United States, and who agrees to become a member of a basic unit of the party, to become *active* in this organization, to subordinate himself to all decisions of the Communist International and the Communist Party, and to regularly pay his membership dues.

Granville Hicks reports from his own first-hand experience that the obedience demanded of all Communists is both intellectual and moral. At the time the Soviet pact with Nazi Germany was announced in 1939 Hicks resigned from the Communist Party and stated publicly:

If the party had left any room for doubt, I could go along with it, at least for the present. But defense of the pact is now an integral part of the line and, indeed, has inevitably become the most important item of political belief. Leaders of the party have generously urged me to take all the time I wanted to make up my mind. . . . But they have made it clear that if I eventually found it impossible to defend the pact, and defend it in their terms, there was nothing for me to do but resign.

The Communist, the party's ideological journal, declared that the party expects its members who are teachers to advance the purposes of the movement in their educational work. It said:

Communist teachers cannot afford to ignore the fact that they come in contact with the children of the masses, that they are responsible for training these children. . . . They must mobilize other teachers in this fight. They must take advantage of their positions, without exposing themselves, to give their students to the best of their ability working-class education.

A CLEAR pattern of conduct emerges from these paragraphs. Communists follow a morality that they deduce "from the class struggle of the proletariat"; they believe that whatever benefits their party is truth and science; they are members of a disciplined group controlled by the decrees of the world Communist movement and the Communist Party of the United States; they must subordinate their own ideas to the dictates of the party line; and they are expected to work covertly in the schools to advance Communist political purposes. But, it may be objected, this is only a paper pattern. It is at this point that the experience of the American Federation of Teachers becomes relevant.

The leaders of the federation have learned over a period of two decades that this official pattern is also an operational pattern. Communist members of the teachers' union have shown by their activities in local communities, as well as in the national conventions of the federation, that they invariably shift their purposes, and their actions, with shifts in the Communist line. Leaders of the federation have also observed that it is from the perspective of party interests and policies that book reviews by Communist or pro-Communist teachers are "slanted"; authors who once received great praise suddenly lose their objectivity and scholarship when they resign from the Communist Party, and those who publicly expose the tactics of the Communists are subjected to all sorts of covert attacks. Similarly, various problems within the schools and colleges are constantly exploited for ulterior political purposes. Some Communist teachers are more adroit than others, but all operate within the pattern of the party, and that means that they do permit their positions on a wide variety of subjects to be dictated by the party authority. By accepting this authoritarian dictation in the realm of the mind and by exploiting their educational positions of public trust, Communist teachers not only break with the principle of disinterested search for truth which is the heart of scholarship and the ultimate foundation of academic freedom; they also tend to regard the young as plastic material to be manipulated for whatever purposes the official line of the party directs.

Today no person who is sufficiently well informed on public affairs to qualify as a teacher should be innocent of the operational significance of membership in the Communist Party. To pronounce a member of this party unfit to teach is not to find him guilty by the principle

of association. Membership in the Communist Party is a definite act—an act that repudiates both the canons of scholarship and the kind of conduct that is basic in the work of a teacher in a democracy.

The educational profession is not erecting new standards when it asks that its teachers maintain their intellectual integrity, that they have regard for their pupils and students as ends in themselves, and that they refuse what has been called "the deliberate practice of the lie." These are old values in the intellectual and moral tradition of the human race, and irrespective of the standards

that may or may not be established in the *political* community, it is important that the educational profession reaffirm its ancient standards. Young people who are beginning as teachers are entitled to know where the profession of education stands on these fundamental matters. Unless educators are ready to repudiate much that has made teaching and research honored human activities, they will not appoint to or sustain in posts of education those who deliberately place loyalty to the Communist Party above loyalty to truth, to the young, to their colleagues, and to the democratic way of life.

The Business of Government

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, February 26

PERHAPS the greatest achievement of the Hoover commission's extended study of the federal agencies will be its education of the public regarding the widespread waste and inefficiency that are unavoidable in the present obsolete organization of our government. Since only about a third of the eighteen-volume report has as yet been submitted to Congress, we cannot be certain what proposals the commission will make for solving the problems it has exposed. But it is accomplishing its task of analysis and publicity, and even should Congress frustrate the entire program, the Hoover commission has already performed a great service in the field of political education.

The United States, like Great Britain, has consistently shown the capacity to "muddle through" its crises, and this characteristic tends to deflate Cassandra-like warnings of perils to come. The commission does not actually venture into Cassandra's field, though it uses strong and candid language in revealing the conditions which have arisen as a by-product of a \$42,000,000,000 annual budget erected on a fiscal ground plan laid out in the days of Alexander Hamilton. The core of the problem, paradoxically, is the almost unparalleled stability of the American republic. Since its founding, the United States, governmentally intact, has outlasted numerous French empires and republics, German Reichs, a whole series of revolutions and counter-revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe. Though the "New World" legend, with all its vitality and beauty, clings to the United States, we are actually one of the oldest going governments on the globe.

The resulting obsolescence has been noticeable for some time, as a passage in the 1936 report of President Roosevelt's "Committee on Administration Management" relates:

Since the Civil War, as the tasks and responsibilities of our government have grown with the growth of the nation in sweep and power, some notable attempts have been made to keep our administrative system abreast of the new times. . . . But our executive office is not fully abreast of the trend of our American times, either in business or in government. . . . How is it humanly possible to know fully the affairs and problems of over 100 separate major agencies, to say nothing of being responsible for their general direction and coordination?

Mr. Hoover was actively interested in this problem while he was President. The Reorganization Act of June 30, 1932, passed on his request, gave him the power to consolidate and reorganize departments subject only to a veto by Congress within a period of sixty days. But Hoover's political ineptitude led him to try to abolish immediately the departments of Agriculture and Interior—two of the most politically sensitive agencies of the government—and combine their functions in a new Department of Development and Conservation. This project was killed by Congress, as was every subsequent reorganization measure that Hoover proposed. His scheme was considered so objectionable that the right to abolish Cabinet departments was denied even to Roosevelt when the so-called rubber-stamp Congress passed a new Reorganization Act on March 3, 1933, establishing the "alphabet" agencies and permitting countless transfers of authority and functions within the departments.

In July, 1947, the Hoover commission, officially titled the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, was created by a Republican Congress and allocated two million dollars to draw up plans for a general overhauling of the federal structure. The commission held its first meeting in September, 1947, and organized its work in sixteen general divisions, each to be studied by a research "task force." Some of these

task forces—for example, the one which studied the problem of national defense—were composed of dollar-a-year men and ranking figures from public life. Most of the surveys, however, were assigned under contract to research organizations, such as the Brookings Institute.

The main recommendations of those reports which have been made public can be summarized as follows:

General Management. The sixty-five departments and agencies now reporting directly to the President would be consolidated into about a third of this number. The President's executive staff would be increased to include an Office of Personnel, whose chief would also be head of the Civil Service Commission.

Personnel. The Civil Service Commission would be relieved of its task of assigning and transferring all personnel, and responsibility for individual placement would be vested in the agencies themselves. This would free the commission to establish general standards, undertake surveys, and seek means to elevate government "job-holding" to the dignity of a career service. The present process of discharging incompetents would be simplified.

General Services. Supply, purchasing, records management, and the operation of public buildings would be centered in this office. The task force assigned to the subject estimated that records now in existence would fill approximately six buildings the size of the Pentagon. It recommends that half these papers be discarded. Government inventories ought to be reduced by \$2.5 billion.

Budgeting and accounting. The task force states: "The whole budgetary concept of the federal government should be refashioned by the adoption of . . . a 'performance budget.' Under a performance budget, attention is centered on the function or activity instead of on lists of employees." As an example of budgetary inefficiency the task force cites the Bethesda Naval Hospital, whose expenses are paid from twelve different sources, with "no one appropriation title which shows what this hospital actually costs." Under a "performance budget" the entire cost of such a hospital would be placed under the single title "For Medical Care."

National Security (Defense). This report, drawn up by a group headed by Ferdinand Eberstadt, a Wall Street banker who has spent the past six years in government, comes nearer than any other so far released to whitewashing its subject. It is a well-known fact that the armed services, though unified in name, have effectively resisted unification. Defense Secretary Forrestal has apparently accepted this situation to assure his continued tenure in office. The task force seems to have agreed to the compromise. Its criticisms are of a minor nature. The services are exhorted to become "cost conscious." Several offices, including the already defunct one of chief of staff to the President, are abolished. The real shortcomings of the report are best told in an uncompromising dissent by former Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson:

We might as well face up to the fact that inter-service frictions have not been reduced, and that costly duplications have not been diminished . . . it seems plain that the present structure is top-heavy. . . . The present law puts too much emphasis on the three departments and their secretaries and not enough on the military establishments as a whole.

Foreign Affairs. One of the two main recommendations calls for such a reorganization of the entire State Department that top-to-bottom administrative authority will be in the hands of the Under Secretary, so that the Secretary will be free to concentrate his entire attention on foreign affairs. The other would merge the domestic and foreign staffs at the official level, thus providing a wider range of service for both groups and reducing the traditional friction between stateside desk officers and "the striped-pants boys" in foreign service.

Agriculture. The department, substantially expanded and specialized, would be regrouped according to broad general functions. Field projects would be organized as a unified program instead of as separate undertakings, and research would be centralized. All public-works activities directly concerned with farming would be detached from other agencies and assigned to the Agriculture Department.

HOOVER'S task forces estimate that if the whole program is adopted, elimination of duplication, confusion, and outright waste will save more than \$2,500,000,000 a year. But Hoover has told the Senate expenditures committee that if a single agency is held inviolate to reorganization, the entire program will be eaten away as "by a grasshopper blight." Hoover cited a lobbying campaign now being conducted by the Army Corps of Engineers and by the contractors with whom it does business in its flood-control work as the perfect example of the sort of pressure Congress must be prepared to meet if it accepts his recommendations.

Truman and Hoover apparently are in complete agreement as to the necessity for carrying out the program intact. The Republicans are now leading the opposition, since the distribution of patronage favors has fallen into other hands.

The House has passed overwhelmingly and sent to the Senate a bill vesting permanent authority in the President to initiate the reorganization program. But against Hoover's warnings and the weight of his experience, it provided a limited exemption for the Defense Establishment, Mediation Board, Railroad Adjustment Board, Railroad Retirement Board, governors of the Federal Reserve Board, Securities and Exchange Commission, and the Interstate Commerce Commission.

That Congress itself is the most dangerous focus of institutional obsolescence and intellectual senility in the entire federal structure is borne out by its daily record.

Del Vayo—The Crisis of European Socialism

WHEN Jean Rous left the French Socialist Party last December, I remarked that his withdrawal was symptomatic of the decline of French socialism. Since then he has attracted considerable attention as a columnist on *France-Tireur*, the paper that only a few months ago was suspected of being fellow-traveler and today is the principal target of a Communist campaign against the "milk and water" left. In the case of Rous I consider any such characterization absurd, but suppose for the sake of argument that the charge is true—then he should be a still more trustworthy witness for American liberals.

I should like especially to have American liberals read the first full explanation given by Jean Rous of why he broke with the French Socialist Party (S. F. I. O.). His "case" was not a personal tragedy; many Socialists on the Continent are in the same plight. And this fact supports what I have said many times—Washington's foreign policy is rapidly disarming the natural European allies of the American liberals.

Jean Rous's statement appeared in the February issue of *Esprit*, the excellent magazine put out by liberal French Catholics. It begins by attributing the crisis of socialism to France's inability to set up a stable progressive regime after the Liberation. In 1945 the policy of the S. F. I. O. was "as progressive as that of the Communist Party." The two parties faced the same prospect and had a similar program; both wanted to build in France and in Europe a transition society based on nationalization of major industries and banks and giving the working class an increasingly important role in public affairs.

People like Rous saw their mission in the French Socialist Party very clearly: to further the party's genuinely Socialist objectives and to oppose "the neo-Radical movement which under the pretext of 'humanism' wanted to sweeten the party by changing it into a kind of center party which would be the lay wing of the famous *travaillisme sans travailleurs*." What was necessary, in a word, was to keep the party from becoming a mere appendage of Parliament and to change it into a party close to the masses.

Strange as it may seem today, when we are confronted with the crumbling of the French Socialist Party, these ideas were accepted by the first party congress, held at Montrouge in 1946, after the Liberation. I attended the congress, and I can testify that Rous's story of what happened there is correct. Essentially the congress declared itself in favor of a consistent Socialist policy, as I reported in *The Nation* for April 13, 1946.

Jean Rous holds Ramadier responsible for the party's deviations from the 1946 decisions. Ramadier became, he claims, the real leader of the neo-Radical trend (neo-Radical, as he uses the phrase, refers to the old French bourgeois party) and as head of the government initiated a policy which could not but estrange the S. F. I. O. from the workers. There were then no Communists in the Cabinet. The workers participated in the government only through the Socialist Party, and blame for any government policy

which represented a retreat from the program of the Liberation had to be borne by the Socialists.

Their position was made still more uncomfortable by the change in the international situation. Acceptance of the Marshall Plan obliged them to follow the Washington line, even when it was contrary to their own views. This meant, on the one hand, that they must slowly and privately renounce their more far-reaching plans for nationalization, and, on the other, that they must swallow a policy which, in the name of "security," would welcome without distinction a liberal or a reactionary regime. Thus the Socialists offered themselves as a target for Communist attack, and soon, caught in a vicious circle, they were in turn attacking the Communists.

Realizing the dangers of such a situation, Jean Rous and his friends put up a vigorous fight in the next party congress, held at Lyon in August, 1947. "After a truly desperate effort of the militants," he writes, "it was again the left which won, as if history wanted to give it another chance." In effect the resolution adopted at Lyon declared that the Socialists would leave the government if the policy described above continued and that they would support the government only if a crisis actually endangered French democracy.

It was a paper victory. The secretary general of the party, Guy Mollet, who had been kept in his post by the votes of Jean Rous and the left, began to move closer and closer to Ramadier's position. Urban workers, poor peasants, and young people deserted the party en masse. The splits started: Rous mentions the withdrawal of the Action Socialiste Révolutionnaire (A. S. R.), which was connected with the Socialist Youth group, and a little later the expulsion of the directors of the Bataille Socialiste movement, who later founded the Parti Socialiste Unitaire (P. S. U.). The process of disintegration continued: at the end of 1948 came the resignation of a group of insurgent deputies, among them Rabier, Bouyet, and the well-known director of the Musée de l'Homme, Paul Rivet. "Even the moderate workers," Jean Rous writes sadly, "left on tiptoe, making no noise, as one leaves the chamber of a dying man." Some have taken refuge in the Force Ouvrière; some in the Rousset-Sartre group, the Rassemblement Démocratique Révolutionnaire; others do not know where to go, for if the Socialist Party is no longer their party, the Communist Party, "because of its lack of any internal political democracy," cannot offer them a new home.

Moved by an understandable feeling of affection for the old party, some stay. But in what spirit? "In a mood of despair. 'Let us remain,' they say. 'De Gaulle's coming to power is inevitable, and then those of us who are left, together with the good fighters who parted from us because they could stand no more, will rebuild the Socialist movement on sound foundations.'"

Jean Rous tries to combat this kind of fatalism. Even if the prophecy of defeat is fulfilled, he will not tolerate resignation. He believes that the urgent necessity is to create a new center of left socialism, in France and throughout Europe.

Good Days for Nazis

BY CAROLUS

EVEN before the year 1949 had seen the light of day, the German press had christened it the "Year of Goethe." True, when this greatest of Germans was born on August 28, 1749, on a Frankfurt street called the Grosse Hirschgraben, there was as yet no Germany, though German culture had already achieved greatness. Frankfurt-am-Main was but one of 365 autonomous German "fatherlands," a free republic having scarcely anything in common with Berlin but a great deal with Vienna and Venice, Paris and Prague, Milan and Amsterdam, Lyon, Leipzig, and London. It was the same Goethe of Frankfurt who in 1792, as a war correspondent, accompanied the Prusso-Austrian army on its campaign against the France of 1789. At Valmy this army met the French peasant host, ill equipped with arms but fortified all the more with the power of an idea. The Marseillaise rose above the thunder of cannon, and the princes and generals with their mercenaries fled pell-mell back across the Rhine, faster than they had come. On the night of this historic battle the man from Frankfurt noted in his diary: "Here and today a new era of history has dawned, and you can say that you were witness to it."

The term Germany at that time had neither political nor national meaning. The "Holy Roman Empire," whose emperors were traditionally crowned at Frankfurt, still lingered on. During the ill-starred bourgeois revolution of 1848 that city was also the seat of the first German parliament. It was to bring liberty and unity to the Germans; but Prussian bayonets soon scattered them to the winds. In 1866, during Prussia's war against Austria, Frankfurt, that much-hated "den of democracy" as Bismarck called it, was captured, plundered, and annexed by Prussia. Five years later it was here that vanquished France had to sign a peace treaty, ceding Alsace-Lorraine to the newly founded Prussian-German Reich. It was the beginning of Germany's great political and economic upsurge. The city of Goethe was the gainer. It grew enormously in size, and that growth was further inten-

sified under Hitler. Frankfurt became headquarters for I. G. Farben, the world's greatest chemical trust, which made it at once the heart of the German war potential. It was above the huge, undamaged I. G. Farben building that Eisenhower raised the Stars and Stripes. To this day the building is headquarters for the American occupation forces and for Trizonia.

During the war the Goethe mansion on the Grosse Hirschgraben was ground into dust. But before it could sink into ruin, German culture itself had to become a thing of tatters. That was achieved in the workshops of Buchenwald, where Ilse Koch had lampshades wrought of tattooed human skin with consummate craftsmanship. The doom was sealed in the gas chambers of Auschwitz, with the technical assistance of I. G. Farben.

But now comes the "Year of Goethe," and the house on the Grosse Hirschgraben is to be rebuilt. For the moment, however, it is new restaurants, cafes, movie theaters and places of entertainment, modern shops and department stores that mushroom overnight in Frankfurt and all the other German cities. There is hustle and bustle and burgeoning everywhere. Where nine months ago stood tar-paper shacks offering tawdry rummage for sale, today brilliantly illuminated store fronts with enormous show windows gleam in the night. Currency reform and Marshall Plan aid—they fell like a warm summer rain on parched soil. From the cellars hoarded merchandise emerged into the light of day. It paid to work again. Production swelled day by day, and now anything can be bought: British fabrics, American combs and soap, vegetables from the Netherlands, Italian fruit, precious porcelain, exquisite leatherware, tasteful furniture, French perfume and cognac, coffee, cigarettes and tobacco, automobiles, typewriters, watches, and luxury articles of every description. The German traditions of hard work and resourcefulness are celebrating their hour of triumph. Such is the façade in western Germany. What is behind the showy glitter?

Frankfurt or Stuttgart, Essen or Hamburg, whatever their names, they have all become boom towns of profit and corruption, avarice and buccaneering, such as have not been known since the early days of capitalist growth. Goods galore and luxury aplenty—but only for those who have the money, which means a tiny group. The mass of the people are window shoppers; they do not buy. Of course they are glad to be able at long last to walk down clean streets again, to find in place of unsightly shacks handsome shops with merchandise they have long missed and craved. But then Müller, the fac-

The name "CAROLUS" hides the identity of one of the most competent authorities on Germany. He comes from the German trade-union movement and left the country when Hitler seized power. Since his return to Germany, after Hitler's defeat, his advice has been sought by policy makers of the various occupation authorities. We are glad to present him to our readers as The Nation's correspondent in the western zones.

tory hand, counts his weekly wages. His wife, having bought the food ration, counts the remaining pennies. Not enough left, they conclude, for daughter's much-needed pair of shoes this month, and Junior's tattered socks will have to be mended once again.

Yes, there is a rash of building in the wrecked cities, but the bombed-out people and the refugees from the east still live in cold, damp war-time air-raid shelters. They are still doubled up three, four, and even five to a single room. The social factor is as absent from building construction as it is from the entire economy. Production in the British-American zone has already reached 80 per cent of the 1936 level. But new residential construction has remained microscopic in extent—scarcely 2 per cent of the total. Only those who have money can buy. Only those who have money can build.

WHO has money? For one group, the farmers, who surrender not even half of their agricultural produce through regular channels, preferring to supply the black market at fancy prices. Hence the ever-growing number of elaborately equipped butcher shops, restaurants, and night spots where anything may be had, without ration coupons but at staggering cost. The black-market profiteers have money, as have all who grew rich from the Nazi regime, the rearmament boom, the war, and the post-war inflation. And who was it who was able to do business under the Hitler regime, during the war, at home or in the countries occupied by Germany? Who was able to exploit foreign labor slaves for sweatshop wages, to amass wealth in every form? The Nazis and their henchmen. It is they who survived the war, Hitler, occupation, inflation, denazification—and today they again dominate the economic scene. They built and made money then. They make money and build today. And those tens of thousands who spent years in the concentration camps, whom the Third Reich deprived of health and livelihood, whose earthly possessions the Nazis looted and robbed? Week after week they shout themselves hoarse at protest meetings. For the most part they live in misery and poverty, waiting to this day in vain for compensation for the damage they have suffered. And this is not even mentioning the plight of the seven million persons expelled from the east. A popular saying that is making the rounds in the Germany of 1949 runs, "If you want to get along, better be sure you were a Nazi."

Schleswig-Holstein in the British zone is the only German province or *Land* with a Social Democratic majority and a purely Social Democratic government. Yet in this state 91 per cent of all judges, prosecutors, and court officials are former members of the Nazi Party. In the American zone this percentage drops to 60 in some spots, but even there the administration of justice is not much better. Yes, times are good for Nazis. This was the way the Weimar Republic dug its own grave.

Turning to the universities, for the professors and 90 per cent of the students the picture is the same. "They have learned nothing and forgotten nothing"—today the phrase may again be applied not only to Germany's democrats but to most of those who work in the offices of the zonal occupation authorities supervising German reeducation and democratization. The police force has become a domain of the former Hitler army. Perhaps it will suffice to quote the bitter complaint voiced to me by a Social Democratic police official: "Those few of us who are Social Democrats don't even dare any longer admit our party allegiance. We are excluded from promotion examinations on the most threadbare of pretexts. If it is impossible to exclude us, we are inevitably flunked." The story of the police and the court system is repeated in the vast state and municipal civil service, as it is in the post-office and railroad services. Even where there are Social Democrats or democratically minded anti-fascists as ministers or officials, their work is sabotaged or they slowly succumb to the *esprit de corps*—if, indeed, they are not innately as nationalist as their colleagues.

Each week there appears in Frankfurt, under United States Military Government license (MG E 5), the *Official Journal of the Social Democratic Party of Hesse*, which is sold quite openly. The general secretary of this, the strongest political party in the state, a member of the Hesse parliament, published a New Year's message to the party membership, from which the following is quoted:

Things have again reached the point where former S. S. men publicly boast of their power to manhandle democrats. Bands are again striking up Nazi tunes. Nazi excesses are reported from Oberstdorf and other communities. And the occupation power permits such elements to organize. There are many places where Nazis and militarists, as mayors, supported by Nazi town councils, are again influencing community life. In the social sphere the great mass of wage and salaried workers with inadequate incomes are face to face with hoarders and new-currency profiteers, grown rich overnight. These are the same gentry who unconscionably exploited the misery of the little man, denying him the veriest necessities of life. Now they are reaping their reward by profiteering even more with the fruits of the work of others. All the owning classes and the *nouveaux riches* are agreed that the workers shall be denied a voice in management, lest their own profit rates suffer in favor of a planned economy of supply and demand. . . . Looking back over the mood and state of mind in the years from 1933 to 1945, one can only conclude that little has changed in Germany. . . . It must be hard for democratic countries abroad to grasp the fact that even now in Germany the mortal enemies of democracy have more influence in industry and government than avowed and proved democrats. They have achieved this influence by the agency of democratic politicians who in smug befuddlement are all too ready to dress up their

own weakness as tolerance and humanitarianism. The American and British Military Governments cannot altogether escape their share of responsibility for the fact that such developments have at all been possible.

This long quotation is so typical of present-day Germany that there is scarcely need of further details and examples. What the leading Social Democratic functionary of Hesse says of that state applies equally to the other *Länder* in western Germany, with Bavaria carrying off the prize. Even so, democratization and denazification come off better and are supervised far more rigidly in the United States zone than in those regions of Germany over which waves the Union Jack or the Tricolor.

But reproaches directed against the American and British Military Governments do not absolve the Germans or even the Social Democratic Party. Yes, even that party—to say nothing of the Communists—bears its full measure of guilt for the present situation. Indeed, the non-German military authorities in the western zones can put forward a highly plausible excuse. They are charged with a political task that cannot be solved without corresponding changes in economic and social structure, that cannot be carried out at all in the sense of their Anglo-American policy makers. There will be time and

occasion to discuss this problem, which is at the heart of the German question.

For the moment it is enough to say that Nazis in Germany are doing well. Democratization is still far away. There were excellent beginnings in Germany, and even today a great many Germans watch the present situation with sorrow and perplexity. But they are resigned and helpless, pushed into a corner, their hopes of 1945 buried. Last Christmas there was no child in the United States zone that did not have its holiday bounty and celebration from voluntary contributions of American soldiers, civilians, and officials. In this same zone every schoolchild has for more than a year received a good daily lunch, at a cost of three cents. In Frankfurt alone this program benefits thirty thousand children. I confronted a German—he happens never to have been a Nazi, never to have sold his birthright to Hitler—with these facts. "These Americans," he replied, "if they give us as much as all that, they must have a very bad conscience."

In this "Year of Goethe" less of the spirit of Goethe is to be felt in Germany than ever before. If any of the great German's words apply to the Germany of 1949, then these, from his *Faust*: "Like unto the spirit within thy ken art thou, not unto me."

Twelve Hand-picked Men and True

BY NANETTE DEMBITZ

WHATEVER may be said of their tactics, the eleven Communist leaders now on trial have raised an issue of general public concern in their attack on the system of selecting federal juries in the Southern District of New York. They may or may not succeed in establishing their contention that the grand jury which indicted them and the petit jury which will try them are overweighted with members of the well-to-do non-laboring classes, which, they maintain, are likely to be biased against them. But whatever the outcome of their challenge, it is clear that Judge Knox, the presiding justice of the Southern District, has established innovations in the jury-selection method in that well-populated and litigious district, which has, moreover, been taken as a model by other courts.

In place of the common practice of summoning jurors more or less at random from all citizens who meet a basic minimum of objective requirements, such as age, citizenship, physical fitness, and literacy, jury officials under

Judge Knox apparently make a further personal appraisal of the citizens thus qualified. The purpose, in Judge Knox's words, is to "hand-pick" those who "are fitted by education, intelligence, and appreciation of our way of life" and by "high intelligence, sound judgment, and wide experience" to be jurors. Are these objectives and methods of jury selection permissible under the principles laid down by the United States Supreme Court and are they socially desirable?

The link between the declared objectives of the jury system in the Southern District and the Communists' charges of partiality is, according to their contention, that the jury officials use occupational status and business success as the criteria of high intelligence and the other traits they seek in jurors. A similar charge was made against New York State's "blue-ribbon" juries in a case carried to the Supreme Court by Judge Harold R. Medina, who is presiding in the Communist trial, when he was himself a practicing attorney. The five-judge majority, upholding the "blue-ribbon" jury, avoided the issue which is crucial in the present case, basing their opinion on the assumption that all potential jurors "were subjected to the same test of intelligence, citizenship, and understanding of English." They ignored the nature of

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the purported intelligence test and were unimpressed by the disproportion of economic classes on the jury, believing that this might have been the unintended result of differences in the rate of literacy between those classes and in other customary qualifications. The four dissenters pointed out that the officials who supposedly selected the jurors on the basis of intelligence did not attempt to test "native intelligence." The result of allowing them to make a personal appraisal of that qualification was to permit them "to formulate whatever standard they desire," which "is apparently of an economic or social nature" (*Fay v. New York*, 332 U. S. 261, 1947).

THE assumption under Judge Knox's system that desirable jurors were to be found more frequently among "substantial" citizens, or at least those used to business affairs, than among the rest of the citizenry was clearly revealed in an official description of the system in 1941. The Communists have relied heavily on this description, which was partially reiterated by Jury Clerk Joseph F. McKenzie in the course of his cross-examination by counsel for the defense. In order to secure the desired type of jurors, the 1941 memorandum stated, Judge Knox appointed as jury commissioner an attorney "who has good business and social connections," assisted by a clerk "who is a good judge of character." The list of registered voters from which jurors had previously been selected was supplemented by the telephone directory arranged according to location, so that the clerk could select names "from neighborhoods where he knows persons who are most likely to be suitable material reside." "Who's Who in New York," "Poor's Directory of Directors," the "Engineers' Directory," the "Social Register," and various college and university alumni directories were also "extensively used," and names of "citizens who [were] personally known or introduced to the jury clerk as good potential jurors" were added to the list. A further sifting of names was made by the jury officials by means of questionnaires and interviews.

Even on the basis of figures submitted by counsel for the Communist defendants, the system appears to have been modified to some extent since 1941. The panels consisted, according to the 1941 memorandum, of "about 2 per cent . . . unemployed or retired, 88 per cent . . . business or professional men, and 10 per cent . . . women." But the Communists themselves do not now charge that the panels wholly exclude manual and low-income workers. They contend merely that the panels are overweighted with the executive, business, and upper-income groups. For example, their table with respect to the panel called for January 17, 1949, from which the jury for their trial was to be picked, purports to show that while approximately 48 per cent of the literate citizenry of the district were manual workers, and approximately 10 per cent were executives (proprietors—

even of small shops—managers, and officials), the ratio on the panel was roughly 9 per cent manual workers and 43 per cent executives.

Though the great majority of laborers obviously reject the Communist Party's constitutional declaration that it is the "party of the American working class," the Communists are probably right in believing they would have a better chance of acquittal with a panel that included a larger proportion of manual workers. Indeed, in numerous types of cases between propertied and non-propertied litigants, including such everyday non-criminal suits as those by workers for breach of contract or negligence actions, the outcome might well be prejudiced by a panel chosen on the basis of occupational or income status. And if the panel is overweighted with a class of persons tending to have an unsympathetic viewpoint, the litigant's weapon for jury control, his right to challenge, is of little avail. If he can prove that any of the potential jurors is likely to render a biased verdict, that juror may be dismissed on a challenge; but a mere showing of the possibility of unconscious or unadmitted partiality due to occupational, social, or economic standing would not be sufficient. The litigant also has the right to a prescribed number of peremptory challenges, for which he need state no reason, but the right of peremptory challenge is futile if the panel consists largely of persons of unsympathetic viewpoint. The challenged juror would only be replaced by his fellow.

Neither the Communist defendants nor any other litigant has a right to a jury of his sympathizers, or one on which members of any particular group or class participate. But he has an absolute protection, under the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, at least in the federal courts, against a jury official's intentional and systematic exclusion from the panel of any group or class. It seems clear, though the court has not squarely passed on the issue, that this protection obtains against intentional and systematic efforts to secure greater representation on the panels of some economic or social classes than of others. For regardless of the worthiness of the motive for such efforts, they are at variance with the principle that the jury must be "drawn from a cross-section of the community" lest it become "the organ of any special group or class."

But suppose the jury officials, avoiding all tendency toward economic or other bias, attempt to select as jurors the most intelligent citizens, or those who excel in any other characteristic; and suppose, indeed, that the determinations are made by objective test, so that the danger of personal predilections is ruled out? The view of the dissenters in the blue-ribbon jury case would probably be adopted by a majority: ". . . a cross-section of the community includes persons with varying degrees of training and intelligence and with varying economic and social positions. Under our Constitution the jury is

not to be made the representatives of the most intelligent, the most wealthy, or the most successful, nor of the least. . . ." Similarly, the court has stated that the special competence of a particular group would not justify reliance on its members for jury service; it expressed disapproval of the alleged system in one district of summoning no women except members of the League of Women Voters, even though other women habitually sought to be excused and league members had training for jury duty.

THE importance of maintaining the cross-section principle in order, as Justice Frankfurter put it, to attain a "diffused impartiality," lies in the fact that the juror's viewpoints and sense of values play a much greater role than his intellect. This is true in practically every case, and particularly in criminal cases. The significance of the juror's viewpoint was, indeed, recognized by Judge Knox in his justification of his system on the basis that jurors should be obtained who have the proper "appreciation of our way of life."

One of the major ways in which a juror's viewpoints enter a case, not covertly but under established legal doctrine, is in his determination of the credibility of the evidence—in almost all cases a question of prime importance and frequently the only issue. The question of credibility may involve the logic of the evidence, but it is fundamental law that the juror is to rely upon his impression from the sight and sound of the witness, in addition to the actual words of the testimony. And is not a conclusion that a person looks and sounds honest likely to be more inspired by the juror's background and facts, his likes and prejudices, than by his intellect?

In determining the question of intent, which is likewise crucial in many cases, the importance of the juror's viewpoint was emphasized by the Supreme Court in the Ballard case, in which it condemned the exclusion of women from the jury. The defendants were a mother and son who were charged with fraudulently using the mails to promote a religious program for the purpose of personal gain. The court, by Justice Douglas, pointed out that women tend to be more religious than men and might therefore be more likely to believe in the sincerity of defendants' religious beliefs. The exclusion of women was held to have prejudicially deprived the defendants of this possible viewpoint. Going farther, the court commented drily that even if women as a class had no distinctive viewpoints, "the two sexes are not fungible," that "the subtle interplay of influence one on the other is among the imponderables" on which a jury should reflect.

Apart from the role lawfully played by the juror's viewpoints, as distinguished from his intellectual capacities, even the conscientious juror may extra-lawfully, but without consciousness of prejudice, conclude that the

side to which he is emotionally inclined has proved its case. For practically always both sides have made out so plausible an argument that the jury could reasonably decide for either party. I doubt that the ability to free oneself from an inclination toward wishful thinking in such circumstances is an exclusive gift of those of intellectual attainments or "responsible" position; indeed, I would venture to suggest that the more "responsible" members of society may have a greater sense of righteousness than less pretentious folk in finding logical support for, and imposing, their convictions.

Finally, the case for securing especially intelligent jurors instead of a representative cross-section is weakened by the fact that, for the jury, the issues in an average criminal case do not involve a complicated process of reasoning. For example, in the famous case against Benjamin Gitlow, during World War I, and that of the Trotskyists in World War II, which were both similar in some respects to the present case against the Communists, the juries determined such issues as whether the defendants' words in their ordinary meaning constituted a statement of history rather than an attempt to advise and advocate force and violence. They decided whether a statement of the defendants showed that they no longer believed in a view they had previously expressed; and whether their possession of a certain number of books showed that they were attempting to spread the views contained therein or only to use them for reference. While intellectual training and experience would no doubt assist the juror to remember and piece together the evidence on such points, the judge can, if he desires, summarize all the evidence, and he invariably analyzes and separates the factual issues in his instructions.

My emphasis has been upon criminal rather than civil cases because the jury is frequently waived in the latter and rarely, if ever, in the former, and because criminal cases continue to be of greater importance to those who place human above property rights. On this point it must be said in justice to Judge Knox that some of his statements about the need for a selective system indicate that his attention was focused on commercial cases and on the large number of business and professional men excused from jury duty.

Under Supreme Court decisions it would probably be lawful to improve the intellectual caliber of jurors by setting up a low educational standard, as well as imposing tests, free from bias, to insure jurymen of at least average intelligence, memory, and similar traits. But no departure from the "basic classlessness" which a jury should embody will be permitted, the Supreme Court has ruled, for the injury from such a departure "is not limited to the defendant—there is injury to the jury system, to the law as an institution, to the community at large, and to the democratic ideal reflected in the processes of our courts."

Brave New World in Czechoslovakia

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

II. Test Case Supreme

Prague, February

IT HAS become a truism to say that Czechoslovakia is the ideal laboratory for socialism in Europe, that its high standard of living, education, and technical skill, its exceptionally large working class, its relatively limited clerical and other "reactionary" elements, its well-balanced economy, the fact that its people are not by nature obstreperous make it Lenin's dream come true. "If only Germany had done in 1919 what the Czechs are doing now!" good Marxists wistfully remark.

The working class put the present regime in power, and the present regime, the "people's democracy," carries out, in Dimitrov's words, "the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat." It was no accident that Gottwald in his long speech before the party's Central Committee in November made no claim of "fair elections." Free elections, as we understand them, are not a fetish of Czech Communists. The working class is of course the pampered pet of the new regime. With two and one-half million Communist Party members in a population of twelve million, Czechoslovakia has proportionally the largest Communist Party in the world. It is too large, in fact, and in the "check-up" that has been going on for some time many "opportunists" are being thrown out. A hard core of Communists is running the country, and it is typical Western wishful thinking to suppose that the Czech working class is not really behind them.

While it is true that the Czech workers are expected to work very much harder than they did before, they are receiving much in return—priority in food, clothes, and everything else, even priority in education, for an effort will be made to raise the proportion of working-class youth in higher education. Labor productivity is to be increased by half by the end of the Five-Year Plan; in the words of Slansky, the secretary general of the Communist Party, "our factory organizations must struggle against workers with easygoing, old-fashioned ideas. . . . A special effort must be made in engineering, the basis of the new Five-Year Plan, and in the building trade."

Severe measures are being taken against absenteeism and excessive mobility of labor, and Erban, secretary

general of the Trade Union Congress, pointed out that paid holidays had in the past been granted "so liberally that they had almost reached the limit of our economic endurance." Premier Zapotocky at the Central Committee meeting stressed that wages had increased more rapidly than production. This, he said, was in nobody's interests. "Even in our new society we cannot allow wages to eat up the results of increased production. Apart from providing wages, our nationalized industries must also have funds for capital investment, for if they do not improve and expand, we shall not be able to compete with foreign countries and buy the necessary raw materials."

He went on to say that whereas industrial output was 10 per cent above 1937 despite the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans, the number of industrial workers was only 94 per cent of the 1937 figure. On the other hand, the number of black-coated workers and officials was 140 per cent; it was therefore necessary to "direct" part of these people into production. He said he did not expect any overtime or Sunday work, but everybody must conscientiously work eight hours a day, six days a week. In many industries this is new.

FOR the benefit of the foreign press an official of the Ministry of Justice explained the other day that the purge in the universities was not guided by political or "class struggle" considerations. Nevertheless, the real aim of this purge was made clear by Slansky two months ago when he said that "most of the students must be of working-class stock." Similarly, he said—and this is already being extensively applied—"it is preferable that the officers in our army be drawn from working-class families." What is aimed at is, indeed, a class army, one completely loyal to Russia in case of war. It is not strange that the harshest purge should be going on in the army; there less than anywhere else can the Communists afford to keep "doubtful" elements in positions of power. It stands to reason that the Czech army can be a reliable ally of the Red Army only if it is ideologically just as hardened. To the Russians nothing could be more dangerous than an army of Schweiks commanded by pro-Western officers who pay only lip service to the regime. This is a problem which the Russians face in all the border countries, in Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria; and strategically Czechoslovakia is more important than any of the others.

The Communist chiefs are a ruthless and extremely efficient group who know industrial problems inside out.

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They are confident that with the capable and willing Czech man-power at their disposal they will make socialism a success. The example of Czechoslovakia is of the utmost importance in terms of propaganda. If at the end of, say, five years Czechoslovakia is a success, and Belgium and France are not, what a tangible victory for the Eastern bloc over the Marshall Plan countries! Whether Russia goes out of its way to help Bulgarian industrialization is quite unimportant, but what happens in Czechoslovakia is vastly important—for the repercussions it will have in Europe generally and particularly in Germany. To Czechoslovakia, therefore, the Russians are sure to lend every possible assistance. The industrial success of Czechoslovakia and Poland and also, though this is more difficult, of the Soviet zone of Germany is one of the major goals of Russian policy. Under the Czech Five-Year Plan light industry is to be increased only slightly, while heavy industry is to be doubled. The underlying idea is "to make Czechoslovakia independent of capitalist depressions"; the market for Czech glass and shoes, it is argued, is limited, but there will be an unlimited market for Czech machinery, rolling-stock, locomotives, tractors, cars, and so on. When it is recalled that little Czechoslovakia had one million unemployed in 1933, the argument makes an impression.

THE food situation is on the whole improving, and rationing is expected to be abolished in two or three years. In their reform of retail trade last month, as in other respects, the Czech Communists are following in the footsteps of the Russians. The introduction of high-price "commercial" shops, modeled on the Russian commercial shops which existed between 1944 and the abolition of rationing in 1947, is expected to act as an incentive to the better workers, who with their money can now buy not only their rationed clothes but also things "over and above the ration." These shops will also absorb a lot of the excess money that has accumulated in the past years.

The reform is intended as a sharp application of the "discrimination" principle enunciated by Gottwald in November. Two million Czech citizens, classed as "the rich" and the "parasites"—a most unfair description of the small shopkeepers among them—have been deprived of their clothing and shoe coupons, the official excuse being that "these people bought in the black market anyway." All this is "rough justice" in the class struggle which is being conducted more methodically in Czechoslovakia than in any of the other people's democracies. Many shocking things happen; the "class justice" that



President Gottwald

has become the basic principle of the legal system is highly distasteful to any fair-minded Westerner. But in the Czech government's view Czechoslovakia will ultimately be judged by its economic success. The Czech Five-Year Plan is one of the major challenges to the whole Marshall system, and the Czech leaders are supremely confident of winning the race.

In the meantime certain old Czech conventions and customs are observed. The peasantry are being handled with a velvet glove; what Gottwald said about collectivization—"voluntary," of course—was even milder than what

Minc said on the same subject in Poland. Agriculture is not a serious problem here as it is in Poland, which has innumerable tiny farms and strips. As the number of tractors grows, so the number of collectives will grow, too. No grave difficulties are anticipated. Nor, as distinct from Hungary, are any major religious conflicts expected. The Roman Catholic clergy here are less under Vatican influence than in many other countries. A traditional holiday like Christmas was celebrated with the utmost traditionalism, and with the help of the Communist government, which put eight million off-the-ration Christmas parcels on sale. It was emphasized that the good things in these parcels—the butter and the tea especially—were from Russia.

Prague looks outwardly much the same as before the revolution. The same middle-class respectability is all pervading, and nearly all the workers still wear middle-class clothes. One wonders whether this outward middle-class respectability will not be exported to Russia—many hundreds of thousands of felt hats such as few Russians ever wore have been sent already. Housing is very high on the Czechoslovak priorities list, though it still remains very low on the Russian. In tiny Slovakia alone more houses will be built under the Five-Year Plan than in the same period in Moscow.

For the benefit of the common man another typically Czech tradition is being respected: Gottwald is being built up, not unsuccessfully, as the Father of his People, the direct descendant of Masaryk and Benes. He is talked about in a much more personal way than any of the Soviet leaders: we know where and how he lives; we are told that he dotes on his little granddaughter; and the jokes repeated about the fat and jolly Mrs. Gottwald—"Martha" to everybody—add to rather than detract from the idyl. Although everybody knows that he is really a hard, Moscow-trained Bolshevik, the President is often shown signing reprieves and commuting sentences, and the party encourages the theory that he is a much kinder man than the other leading Communists.

BOOKS and the ARTS

IS READING HERE TO STAY?

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

[We print here the text of a speech recently delivered by Mr. Krutch. The occasion was the presentation of the annual Carey-Thomas Award for creative publishing, sponsored by the Publishers' Weekly. The award for 1948 was won by William Sloane Associates for the American Men of Letters Series, of which the first two volumes, "Henry David Thoreau," by Mr. Krutch, and "Edwin Arlington Robinson," by Emery Neff, were published last fall.]

PUBLISHERS, I am told, are worried about their business, and I, as a writer, am therefore worried too. But I am not sure that the actual state of their affairs disturbs me quite so much as some of the analyses of it and some of the proposals for remedying what is admittedly an unsatisfactory situation.

One analysis, for example, viewed the threat of television with great alarm. Books are not selling, it explained, because readers are laying down the book they bought in order to watch a wrestling match, and they forget to buy another. But surely the book for which television is a more than satisfactory substitute was not one which a wise publisher would consider a foundation stone of his business. And yet the remedy proposed was that publishers should meet the new competition with books which the "video-viewer" would like. In the long run, surely, the only hope must lie, not in publishing books which can compete with television, but in publishing books which television cannot compete with. There is only one thing which no other medium can present so well as the printed page can, and that thing is literature.

It requires, nevertheless, but a glance at any list of recent books to demonstrate that publishers are depending less and less upon literature for their appeal; that an astonishingly large proportion of their offerings are not even books in the more limited sense of the word, but

rather what in the amusement world are called "gimmicks." At one extreme are the perfectly legitimate and valuable volumes of diaries, letters, and reminiscences produced by the men of action. At the other extreme are the collections of puzzles, jokes, or cafe chitchat, which are admittedly trivial and admittedly transitory. Even the most promoted novels are, more often than not, those of which the primary appeal is either topical or scandalous. Works by professional writers concerned chiefly with the creation of literature are all but lost in the hurly-burly. And if the publisher replies that it is the quasi-books which sell, that may be less because of the competition offered by television than because of the competition which he himself is offering. Bad books drive out good. The publisher seems bent on destroying his own audience by encouraging it to get out of the habit of reading. Lewis Gannett calls his daily column "Books and Things," and though I fancy he did not mean to suggest what that title suggests to me, the fact remains that any general reviewer finds a very large proportion of the volumes sent him "things" rather than books.

Perhaps the best long-range strategy for the publishing business as a whole would be based upon the assumption that its potential audience is composed of people who can and do read; that its only ultimate hope is the hope that such people will not cease to exist. If, however, it should adopt such a strategy, it had best realize to begin with what forces it has to fight, for its enemies will include the educator and the psychologist, both of whom are increasingly opposed to the printed word. A recent investigation, solemnly conducted and solemnly reported, into something called "personality" presented as one of its few clear-cut conclusions the discovery that children much given to reading were likely to grow up into men

and women who lacked "personality." This really means, of course, likely to be unpleasing to the semi-illiterates who set up the standards for personality. But that fact will not be perceived by the educators already strongly prejudiced against books. They are nowadays all committed to "audio-visual aids," and they seem blandly to forget that the printed word is still the most generally efficient and effective method of conveying thought or information ever invented by man, and that over the largest of all fields a hundred words is often worth a thousand pictures. The ability to take in the printed word is one which has to be cultivated, and it is, as a matter of fact, being systematically discouraged. Perhaps the devolution of the written language has already begun. Perhaps in another hundred years only ideographs in the form of conventionalized graphs and charts will be intelligible, and perhaps a century after that the man on vacation who wants to tell his friends at home that he is having a wonderful time will have to draw a picture of a conventionalized ocean wave accompanied by a picture of a conventionalized blonde in a bathing suit. Where will the publishing business be then? The chorus girl who married in haste, came in on the first Sunday after the wedding to find her husband looking at the funny papers, and exclaimed in consternation, "My God, I've married a bookworm!" was only a little ahead of her time. Already even graphs are assumed to be insufficiently "vivid" unless you get, instead of lines or figures, a series of little pictures of men and beasts with the explanation that each black hen represents one million chickens now feeding on Ukrainian farms.

A few years ago I attended a meeting of teachers in secondary schools who were devoting a session to the question, "How can literature be

brought to children?" That meant, of course, "How can literature be made childish?" What they should have been discussing was not how literature could be brought to the children but how children could be brought to literature. What they were proposing was not education but a refusal to educate. Unfortunately, however, publishers seem to be making the same mistake. If they want the television audience they would be much better advised to go into the television business themselves, for they certainly cannot beat it on its own ground, and they certainly will not ultimately succeed by encouraging the neglect of the only art in the presentation of which they cannot be competed with.

Perhaps in the end we writers will have to do what we did before printing was invented—namely, depend upon the circulation of manuscripts which interested eccentrics take the trouble to copy. Our only hope of escaping that fate seems to lie in the boy or girl who perversely plays hooky from the classroom, and—risking the appalled rebuke of the psychologist—reads a book when he should be looking at a film strip or discussing current events with other children under the guidance of an instructor equipped with a full complement of audio-visual aids. Such children do exist, and some publishers do still cater to them by publishing what the *Herald Tribune* calls in its "best-seller" list, "reading books."

Transient Barracks

Summer. Sunset. Someone is playing
The ocarina in the latrine:
You Are My Sunshine. A man shaving
Sees—past the day-room, past the night K. P.'s
Bending over a G. I. can of beets
In the yard of the mess—the red and green
Lights of a runway full of '24's.
The first night flight goes over with a roar
And disappears, a star, among mountains.

The day-room radio, switched on next door,
Says, "The thing about you is, you're *real*."
The man sees his own face, black against lather,
In the steamed, starred mirror: it is *real*.
And the others—the boy in underwear
Hunting for something in his barracks-bags
With a money-belt around his middle—
The voice from the doorway: "Where's the C. Q.?"
"Who wants to know?" "He's gone to the movies."
"Tell him Red wants him to sign his clearance"—
These are. Are what? Are.

"Jesus Christ, what a field!"

A gunner without a pass keeps saying
To a gunner without a pass. The man
Puts down his razor, leans across to the window,
And looks out into the pattern of the field,
Of light and of darkness; his throat tightens,
His lips stretch into a blinded smile.
He thinks. "The times I've dreamed that I was back . . ."
The hairs on the back of his neck stand up straight.

He only yawns, and finishes shaving.
When the gunner asks him, "When you leaving?"
He says, "I just got in. This is my field."
And thinks, "I'm back for good. The States, the States!"
He puts out his hand to touch it—
And the thing about it is, it's *real*.

RANDALL JARRELL

Chennault Fights On

WAY OF A FIGHTER. The Memoirs of Claire Lee Chennault, Major General, United States Army (Ret.). Edited by Robert Hotz. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$4.50.

GENERAL CHENNAULT'S book, "Way of a Fighter," fights the Japanese and his numerous other enemies all over again through twenty-one chapters and in a strident foreword reaches out toward the Third World War with Russia. It expresses the post-war attitude of a fighting man, made famous by warfare, who in the present cold-war period has no solution to the world's ills but more and better fighting. In this saga of combat operations there is no recognition of the social, economic, political, and cultural forces that make for revolution in Asia, and therefore no real basis for forming an American policy to deal with those forces and the revolutions they are producing. In this book Chinese Communist expansion is a Russian strategic operation and that is all. Checking it is likewise a purely military problem. Chennault says that all we need to do is hold air bases in China on the Russian flank and for this purpose "send technically skilled and imaginative leaders" with "a small force of stout men who know the terrain to apply the best of modern equipment."

These memoirs are not only an American adventure-and-success story from our Far Western frontier in Asia. They also reveal the psychology of aggression and destructiveness that forms one facet of the American character. Chennault says of his childhood:

My mother died when I was five. . . . I shot my first gun, a Winchester rifle, when I was eight and hunted before then with a pack of terrier dogs chasing rats, possums, and skunks. . . . I learned to hunt with the unique zest of a man who hunts to eat his kill. It is a passion that has never left me. . . . After reaching the age of twelve . . . I preferred to hunt and fish alone. . . . I was never popular among older boys, whose leadership I refused to follow. As a result, I had the choice of fighting my battles alone or organizing younger boys who accepted my leadership. . . . I had an insatiable urge to win. . . . My best results were obtained when given complete freedom to act upon my own initiative.

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Chennault's mature life, like his book, seems to have been one long act of aggression. After he became a fighter pilot in 1919 at the age of twenty-eight, he fought for his own theories of fighter tactics, combat formation, and heavy firepower. His writing is so redolent of self-justification that it is hard to judge how far he was really ahead of his day and how far merely insubordinate. His record in China, after he retired from the Air Force in 1937, proved his genius for air combat. He began training Chiang Kai-shek's fliers after an Italian air mission had found it convenient to graduate every Chinese officer candidate, half of whom consequently would crack up on landing through sheer inability to fly. He studied the little-publicized Russian air force of six complete squadrons which helped the National Government of China against Japan in 1938-39. This period saw the beginning of a widespread airfield-building program in South China and the famous Chinese air-raid-warning network of spotters and telecommunications.

Chiang Kai-shek, according to this

book, first suggested that American planes and pilots be secured for the eventual A. V. G. in October, 1940. Chennault went to Washington and began his collaboration with T. V. Soong and Joe Alsop. Recruiting of army and navy personnel began sub rosa in April, 1941. Lauchlin Currie, as a Presidential administrative assistant, took on the job of battling for planes and supplies and putting the A. V. G. into material form. Currie's unpublicized service as the White House expediter of this project receives rather little credit from Chennault, who is, after all, the main character of his own story.

In Burma before Pearl Harbor, Chennault trained his pilots to "hit hard, break clean, and get position for another pass," this being the only way to capitalize on the strong points of their P-40's and minimize their weaknesses. In the early guerrilla air warfare in South China Chennault shifted his forces among his chains of bases in constant harassing tactics like those of the Confederate cavalry leaders in the War between the States and "kept the Japanese guessing with this aerial shell game all the way from Burma to the Yangtze." The China Air Task Force which succeeded the A. V. G. on July 4, 1942, still had to fight on a shoestring at the end of the line across the Hump. It gave scope to colorful individuals like the movie producer, Merian Cooper, who as chief of staff "worked around the clock until every detail was satisfactory and then rode the nose of the lead bomber." "Way of a Fighter" recounts the exploits of pilots like "Tex" Hill and Johnny Alison, who dive-bombed in their P-40's by night, of missionaries' sons like Paul Frillman and Wilfred Smith, who ran air-intelligence networks, and of a host of others.

Fighting the Japanese, however, was only a starter, and in this book their defeat appears almost as an anticlimax to the long war against Chennault's immediate superior, General Stilwell. Two chapters build up a rather defensive justification of Chennault by blaming Stilwell for the loss of the East China air bases "by a narrow margin" in the Japanese offensive of 1944. One whole chapter is devoted to the annihilation of Stilwell's reputation as far as words can do so. He was simple-minded, partisan, unaware of air power, indifferent

to the value of intelligence, lacking in plans, anti-Chinese, pro-Communist, and narrowly "preoccupied with his campaign to walk back into Burma." Stilwell is curiously identified with an unnamed group of reactionary Chinese "traditionalists" whom he used for his selfish ends to defeat the Chinese "modernists." Presumably the latter means T. V. Soong, but the idea is left hanging in air.

Stilwell as an enemy is only *primus inter pares*, however. The first B-29 commanders at Chengtu, "coming to bat against the Japanese, both struck out with a loud swish of their briefcases." Most of the A. A. F. generals—Bissell, Arnold, Stratemeyer, and others—are cast in the role of knaves and fools, while General Marshall is represented as the most knavish and foolish of all because of his post-war effort to save China from civil war. Given the demoralization of the Kuomintang regime, which Chennault acknowledges, it did not require much understanding of Chinese social forces to realize in 1945 that civil war would go in favor of the Communists and put us in our present disastrous position. Chennault, however, refights the civil war also, and argues that it was purely a question of which side had the more arms, and that the Chinese Communists got more arms than the Nationalists. Both these theories are false, in my opinion, and represent the kind of thinking that can destroy us by leading us into purely military efforts to deal with complex social changes.

F. D. R. is reported to have said, after meeting Chennault, "I am glad that man is on *our* side." This would still hold true for war time, but Chennault's value as a constructive force to bring peace out of the cold war seems less certain.

J. K. FAIRBANK

Who's Who in the Kremlin STALIN & CO., THE POLITBURO.

The Men Who Run Russia. By Walter Duranty. William Sloane Associates. \$3.

TO MOST readers Walter Duranty's new book on the Soviet leadership may be a disappointment. His ideas are often borrowed from his own earlier works; his anecdotes and impressions seem warmed over; his reconstructions

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of the lives of the thirteen protagonists are too sparsely clothed with the kind of authentic biographical detail that would have made them human, colorful, and entertaining.

But to this reviewer, whose own experiences in the Soviet Union have been far more limited than Duranty's, the book is as amazing as a 1949 mechanical orange juicer would have been to Benjamin Franklin. Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Mikoyan, and even the late Andrei Zhdanov have been written about often enough in the Soviet and non-Soviet press to make them fairly familiar figures to fact-seeking journalists in Moscow. But most of the other leaders were names with brief biographies in the official Soviet encyclopedia—men who never or rarely met with the press or other foreign representatives. That Duranty has been able to sketch in their backgrounds and careers—as well as place them politically with some degree of sharpness—is a tribute both to his ability to squeeze out a story and to the remarkable contacts he had among high Soviet officials, including the Politburo.

Politburo, of course, refers to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It came into being in May, 1917, because the Central Committee was too unwieldy a body to call together for emergency sessions, and a steering committee was needed. Duranty traces the history of this organization from its inception down to the present, from the days of the Bolshevik Revolution through the period of intra-party factional fights and purges until today, when it is almost indistinguishable from the Soviet government's inner Cabinet.

Unlike Harold Laski, another long-time student of the party's structure, Duranty sees no signs of a possible critical split in the present Politburo on theory or tactics. He compares the Politburo to the Notre Dame football team in the days of the Four Horsemen and Knute Rockne. "Each member of the team has his specific position, and knows what to do in any team play," Duranty writes. "Dozens or scores of plays have been worked out beforehand for any possible contingency, but the team as a whole depends on the coach, relies upon him, and looks to him for their leadership and inspiration. With the significant difference that Rockne sat on the

sidelines, whereas Stalin carries the ball."

Since this is how the Politburo now functions, according to Duranty, President Truman's remark last June that Stalin was "a prisoner of the Politburo" is dismissed as "contrary to the facts." On the other hand, Duranty himself takes some pains to show that the Politburo's thinking is not always monolithic. Zhdanov, for example, publicly disagreed with the prevailing opinion prior to the Nazi-Soviet pact; he evidently felt that negotiations for a treaty with France and Britain were a waste of time.

Since Zhdanov's death the popular pastime of guessing the succession to Stalin has picked up renewed interest. Duranty argues with considerable cogency that no *one man* will be chosen to take Stalin's place. "Deprived of Stalin," Duranty concludes, "it seems likely that the Politburo would adopt the pattern set in Turkey after the death of Kemal Ataturk, when the mantle of the dead leader was, so to speak, divided among his associates. . . . Such a solution . . . would be in harmony with the character, structure, and functions of the Russian Politburo." If war were imminent or a reality, however, at the time of the succession, Duranty believes that there might again be a "concentration of authority in the hands of a single man."

Throughout the book the author has tried to refrain from "passing any moral judgment" upon his subjects. In the current mood of headline hysteria against Russia and against communism, Duranty will assuredly be assailed as "pro-Soviet." Certainly of all the old Russia hands he remains the most hopeful. And there is no reason to give his views less credence than those of domestic ex-Communists who have suddenly been converted into infallible experts on foreign affairs. Some of Duranty's interpretations of recent events are so direct and simple that one wonders, if one is feeling charitable, why the daily commentators by-passed them.

For example, Duranty notes that Stalin's successor in the post of defense minister is an old acquaintance of his—the former Mayor of Moscow, Nikolai Bulganin. This fact leads him to the comment that the defense ministry is no longer a post of cardinal importance

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—or why should Stalin surrender it?—and that since a military man didn't get the job it "shows that Russia wants a good business executive in charge of military affairs, to run the army efficiently and maintain its quality on a greatly reduced budget."

Both these points indicate to Duranty that "Russia is less aggressive or war-minded than some foreigners think."

In the last analysis, Duranty's study of the Politburo's birth and development gives him a certain amount of hope that forces now set in motion within the Soviet framework will slowly and gradually work against "the per-

petuation of dictatorship in general and of an individual dictatorship in particular."

Sober thinking on the basic long-term problems of Soviet communism is extremely valuable in these times of short-range judgments. Duranty's contribution, while it does not measure up to the writings of Sir John Maynard or Edward Hallett Carr in terms of scholarship or depth of perception, is eminently more readable and deserves a wide audience.

RICHARD LAUTERBACH

The Later Kafka

THE DIARIES OF FRANZ KAFKA, 1914-1923. Translated by Martin Greenberg. Schocken Books. \$3.75.

THIS last volume of Kafka's diaries begins at the decisive point in his life after the completion of "The Metamorphosis" and before the beginning of "The Trial." His engagement to Miss F. B. had been announced; slowly he was tearing himself away from the parental home. The diaries exist in detail only for the years through 1917, when tuberculosis attacked and the engagement was broken. The terrible struggle Kafka conducted with himself surges through these diaries; the final entries remind one of the tragic wails with which the Greek dramatists did not hesitate to bring their plays to climax.

The Kafka of these pages is quite different from the Kafka of the 1910-13 diaries—more somber, desperate, convinced of his quick mortality, yet a profounder man and a greater writer. His despair is controlled by his mind, and the last entry, which hints at suicide, is written with dignity and massed restraint. Had he felt the need, he might in the end have said, as Lawrence did: we have come through.

It is this genius for self-perception, this ruthless honesty with himself transcending and even violating mere sincerity, that dominates the diaries. From the extremity of desperation comes their awesome honesty—and by comparison the recently published diaries and journals of other great writers must seem occasionally to veer into guile and indulgence. What is most impressive about the diaries is the evidence they offer that Kafka knew all there was to

know about himself. Can as much be said for James in his diaries or Proust in his letters or Gide in his journals?

He knew that "my fate as a writer is very simple. My talent for portraying my dreamlike inner life has thrust all other matters into the background. . . . Nothing else will ever satisfy me." He knew that his realm was "the perpetually shifting frontier that lies between ordinary life and the terror that would seem to be more real." Others he indulged; himself not. Of "The Metamorphosis" he wrote, "Unbearable ending. Imperfect almost to its very marrow." If *those* paragraphs did not satisfy him, what was his idea of a bearable ending? He drove himself to his work with the dedication of a mundane and neurotic saint: "I must not forsake myself. I am entirely alone."

Perhaps the best thing that can now be done with Kafka is to continue reading him privately. The clatter raised by Kafka criticism has recently subsided, either because he no longer seems such a tempting "subject" or because his critics are beginning to feel some abashed dismay at the chaos they have created. Had the diaries been published a few years earlier, a good deal of special pleading, unleashed ingenuity, and plain nonsense might have been avoided.

For most of the interpretations that reduce Kafka to a particular area of interest or scheme of procedure are implicitly refuted by these diaries. Max Brod's Zionist-theological interpretation finds scant support in the diaries; there is little evidence here that Kafka was concerned with Judaism as a group problem or, in any conscious sense, with theology as a means of reaching knowledge or salvation. There is evidence, however, that he anticipated the artistic strategy of using the Jew as a symbol to suggest aspects of modern sensibility. ("What have I in common with Jews? I have hardly anything in common with myself and should stand very quietly in a corner, content that I can breathe.") Nor is there any evidence in the diaries to show that Kafka had the sort of mind to compose books as intricate Freudian puzzles to be solved with "secret keys" by such jigsaw men as Charles Neider. In fact, the diaries contain little discussion of ideas *per se*, at least in the ordinary

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The author of this invaluable booklet is listed in LEADERS IN EDUCATION (National Biographical Directory for 1948) in recognition of his varied studies and articles appearing in national educational and religious journals and in special booklets.

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meaning of the term; in the diaries as in his fiction Kafka constantly strains to leave behind both the specific experience and the formulated idea about it.

If anything, the diaries seem to me to vindicate that approach to his work which has, in different ways, been suggested by Hannah Arendt and some of the French existentialists: that Kafka constructed models of universalized reality; that he was concerned largely with the human side of the man-God, man-nature, and man-society relationships; and that it is always the human situation raised to the purity of its essential function and stripped of secondary contingencies rather than any idea about or explanation of that situation which is at the core of his work.

IRVING HOWE

The Painting of Miro

JOAN MIRO. By Clement Greenberg.
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THE painting of Joan Miró is difficult to expound. It is at once abstract and symbolic, spontaneous and the issue of a refined and cultivated sensitivity. Thus in speaking of it the critic is deprived of the ordinary recourses of the narrative description of a realist subject matter or the psychological interpretation of expressionist emphasis and exaggeration; but he is not quite justi-

fied in resorting to detailed analysis of form and color and pictorial construction that are the usual ways of writing about such analytic painters as Braque and Mondrian. It is clear that there is more than abstract form in Miró, but it is not quite clear what this more is; it is evident that Miró has complete control of a spontaneous sensitivity, but it is not obvious how this control is achieved. Miró's painting is an art of strong, contrasting, lively, joyous color, placed in irregular shapes against an opposing background; it stylizes the human figure partly for symbolic suggestion, partly for humor, and partly because the physical act of setting down a shape or tracing a line determines the form by the logic of its own motion. Miró has thus created a style that cannot be categorized. As Greenberg says, it is eclectic in the best sense, making use of elements of cubism, dada, and surrealism, adapting to its own uses the shapes of Arp and Picasso. Out of these Miró has created an unmistakable style, which has, however, generated no school.

Around this art Greenberg has composed a sensitive and illuminating essay (and his publishers a handsome volume). Its structure is chronological, tracing the evolution of Miró's work from his semi-fauve, semi-cubist beginnings in 1917 down to the present. This he has framed by two short essays, one at the beginning on the role of the Spanish painters in the school of Paris,

and one at the end on the terrible and the comic. Between these punctuating points Greenberg has written a careful account of Miró's life—largely uneventful in external happenings—and analyzed the progress of his art. The author discusses in detail the painter's relation to the cubism which immediately preceded him, and his tangential position in the surrealist group with which he was contemporary; though it claimed him for its own, as it did Picasso, Miró was never a surrealist in the classic—or should it be the academic?—sense. Greenberg writes well of the painter's superb sense of color, his unerring sense of rhythm and placement, his sense of humor. He has wisely not wished to write an exhaustive factual monograph, but rather an analysis and interpretation. Readers of *The Nation* will perhaps be surprised to find him writing with reserve, and even some caution; discussing an artist whose importance needs no stressing, he has tried to arrive at a balanced judgment of his art.

In this he has largely succeeded—but certain demurrers are in order and the noting of certain omissions. The role of cubism—even in the broad sense in which Greenberg uses the word—in the formation of Miró's art is surely overestimated; so is that of Kandinsky. Miró's relation to *art nouveau* is more generalized than Greenberg suggests, and his picture of *art nouveau* is too fragmentary to be valuable. As an affinity, and I suspect a direct precedent for Miró's glandular stretchings of the human figure, I would suggest the late Paleolithic rock-shelter paintings of the east Spanish littoral. One of the most revealing characteristics of his art is the way in which, with carefree obviousness, he can adopt a detail of form from Picasso—a hand, or a foot, or a nose—and by a slight loosening and a different rhythm incorporate it completely into his own style and composition. How different this is from those surreptitious alterations of Picasso inventions that so many other painters never really succeed in. The gently erotic overtones of Miro's work come less from any depiction of "pudenda" than from the generalized suggestion of the organic—rather than geometric—shapes with which he builds his pictures, and which are held together by contour

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(that is, bladder) tension rather than by structure or skeleton. Finally, Miró's major formal contribution to modern painting has been his ability, through his superb color sense, to combine the deep space of surrealism with the sense of picture plane; it is this union, and the relations it creates, which gives so many of his pictures their dramatic force, as it is his ability to alter the human form without, so to speak, logical or even illogical considerations as he does so, that gives them their psychological power. ROBERT GOLDWATER

Men of Genius

YANKEE SCIENCE IN THE MAKING. By Dirk J. Struik. Little, Brown and Company. \$5.

DR. STRUIK, professor of mathematics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has made an important and fascinating contribution in a field of American history that has been strikingly neglected. He has traced the development of science and technology and shown their relation to the cultural scene. In his own words, he is interested in the "sociology of science"; for his pioneering study he chose pre-Civil War New England because he wanted "a relatively stable community, where a certain homogeneity of the population with established traditions offers a background for the gradual unfolding of culture."

American civilization owes at least as much to our scientists and mechanics as to its statesmen; yet the scant attention paid them contrasts markedly with the voluminous literature devoted to political figures. Dr. Struik has illuminated, by affixing names and dates, derivation and impact, a large segment of that portion of our past which for most people has been anonymous and jumbled.

One of the major configurations of American history was the westward movement of Europeans, their spanning and their utilization of the continent. Scientists in America had a brand-new world to study. They had few books, fewer teachers, and the Newtonian system within which to work. Similarly, American mechanics and technicians had a continent on which to impose man's purpose and only a handful of workers—unskilled but versatile and imaginative—with which to undertake their stupen-

dous task. Here is the story of the interaction of the sciences and the social structure that ushered in our modern world.

The book is divided into three sections: The Beginning, The Federalist Period, and The Jacksonian Period. Within this political orientation Dr. Struik discusses every significant aspect of science and technology. (Technology, the word itself, was invented by Bigelow in 1816 when he was appointed to the Rumford chair that had been given to Harvard for "the application of the sciences to the useful arts.") The author considers not only those men who had contributed to astronomy, meteorology, botany, geology, mathematics, and medicine but also the engineers who constructed turnpikes and canals, bridges and railroads, and the shipbuilders whose clipper ships raced the winds. He tells how the textile industry was established and how Lowell quickly became the center for training engineers. He relates how mass production was first worked out in the small-arms industry and how mass-produced clocks and tools made Yankee ingenuity famous throughout the world. He recalls the notable teachers who wrote textbooks and inspired generations of students. He records the significance of the starting of learned societies, lyceums, and technological institutes. He notes the reluctance of the government to finance surveys or expeditions and the slowness of the

growing cities in providing water systems.

We see New England change step by step—and they were giant steps made by men of genius. A region that at the close of the Revolution had been isolated, backward, and provincial took over and retained the scientific and technological preeminence previously held by Philadelphia and Virginia.

Lest the reader assumes from the brief résumé above that Dr. Struik has presented a generalized, philosophical discussion of scientific principles, it should be said at once that the book is full of rich human incident and makes absorbing reading. The period presented was an energetic and boldly creative one. A parade of varied talents passes before us; we are introduced to a series of wonderful and exceptional men. Here we meet the incomparable Salem physician, Holyoke, who made daily rounds for seventy-nine years, was an expert instrument maker, kept the most complete meteorological records of his time, and was a constituent member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Bowditch, the brilliant mathematician, whose valuable "Practical Navigator" grew into the United States Hydrographic Office, and who "studied languages during his entire lifetime, using a New Testament and a dictionary as textbooks"—he eventually mastered twenty-five New Testaments; the fabulous farmer's son, the physicist

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Benjamin Thompson, who gave up his name and country and as the European Count Rumford is known as "one of the greatest scientists America has ever produced"; and Silliman of Yale, "a great teacher, a great organizer, and a great popularizer of science, the first example of a modern scientist in New England," who in 1818 fathered the *American Journal of Sciences*.

The author restores half-forgotten names to their proper place. Eli Whitney, who revolutionized "production methods as fundamentally as his gin revolutionized the social structure of the South"; his nephew, Eli Whitney Blake, whose stone-crusher invention still underlies all quarrying machinery; Timothy Palmer, whose covered bridges became part of the New England landscape; Amos Eaton, the stimulating popular lecturer whose methods incorporated in the newly founded Rensselaer

Polytechnic Institute introduced the laboratory method, "a novel system even in Europe"; and Asa Gray, a self-taught botanist of vast erudition who is famous in the history of science as the recipient of the letter in which Darwin outlined his theory for the first time, the letter that gave him priority over Wallace. We see the pattern in both the pure and the applied sciences change from the haphazard efforts made by brilliant amateurs to systematic work done by trained professionals. We are shown the debt New England scientists owed to Europe. Yankee students were trained at the great universities abroad, and some of the foremost European scientists visited and worked in New England—Michaux, Lyell, and the dynamic Agassiz.

The reviewer can only suggest the richness of ideas and details that Dr. Struik packs into his brilliant volume. It must interest a wide variety of people; they will want to own it, to have it at hand to refer to again and again.

JEANNETTE MIRSKY

The Impotence of "Scrutiny"

THE IMPORTANCE OF SCRUTINY.

Edited by Eric Bentley. George W. Stewart. \$5.75.

IT IS good to have in a single volume a representative selection of essays from *Scrutiny*. It is a journal difficult to come by in this country, and though quite recently books of criticism by F. R. Leavis and L. C. Knights, *Scrutiny's* editor and one of its chief contributors, have been published here, there is a real need for a volume to sum up the critical attitude of a group which since 1932 has gone its unsubsidized, truculent way, largely setting the tone of the New Criticism in England. Mr. Bentley's discriminating selection has reached print at a moment when a remarkable number of articles and books are reminding us that the "new" in New Criticism has the merely historical significance of the same adjective in New York; the documents are in; the whole movement is ready for the textbook and the examination question. And it is not quite thirty years since "The Sacred Wood" of T. S. Eliot opened up what must have seemed inexhaustible possibilities!

What is, or was, the New Criticism? The term is elusive, but apparently

one can use it safely to include all those post-Eliot critics given to the close analysis of texts, or at least to the belief that such analysis is the most legitimate approach to literature. Eliot himself practices close analysis rarely, but he has constantly the air of being about to take the plunge. Very early the New Critics split into two groups: the "scientists," after I. A. Richards, using the methodologies or, at least, the vocabularies of the fashionable new sciences—psychology, semantics, sociology; the "aestheticists," faithful to Eliot, holding out for an autonomous approach and vocabulary; though both treated literature as object rather than document, language rather than idea. The "aestheticists" have split again into two, one group led by Eliot himself moving from the consideration of literature to "more serious" problems of religion; the other making, in Matthew Arnold's sense, literature a substitute for religion, finding in aesthetics a humanistic morality. Both would agree that a work of literature has never saved a soul, but the latter are prepared to believe that formal religion has never done so either, and that the satisfaction once misnamed "salvation" can be better provided these days by a poem than by a church service. Among these "aesthetic humanists" are the members of the *Scrutiny* group.

One is tempted to call them the New New Humanists, for there is about them something of the same academic rigor, the same inability to discover anything valuable in contemporary writing that distinguished the Babbitts and Mores. Writing in 1933, the editor of *Scrutiny* quotes with approval the statement that "the value of a review must be judged by its attitude to the living literature of the time"; but in reviewing the decade backward from 1940, the same editor cannot discover a single poet worthy of praise who emerged in those ten years (Auden? MacNeice? Dylan Thomas? perhaps even an American?); not even a novelist, save one undistinguished example.

To be sure, the tolerance of *Scrutiny* extends a little closer to the present than that of the New Humanists; the twenties are their highwater mark and pale, inclosing those writers they were already looking back to with nostalgia when their magazine was launched

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Joyce, Eliot, Pound, Lawrence, Virginia Woolf, E. M. Forster. If only they had all maintained the discreet silence of Forster since the mid-twenties! For Virginia Woolf's books since "To the Lighthouse" are to *Scrutiny* worthless; Pound has fallen from "Maunderley" to the execrable "Cantos"; and "Finnegans Wake" stirs Mr. Leavis to exhume D. H. Lawrence's stupid and shameful comment, "What a clumsy *olla putrida* James Joyce is! . . . journalistic dirty-mindedness . . . hard-worked staleness . . . masquerading as the all-new!"

One section of Mr. Bentley's collection is labeled misleadingly A Modern Miscellany, but the moderns include Rudyard Kipling and Rémy de Gourmont, while the most recent writers in the group, Auden and Cyril Connolly, are singled out for abuse. Next to the Sitwells and Bloomsbury in general, Auden appears to be *Scrutiny's* favorite whipping-boy. The later poetry of T. S. Eliot, though written after 1930, manages to suit Mr. Leavis's "standards," but he is duly rapped over the knuckles—even mildly accused of plagiarism—for his recent critical defections from his own orthodoxy. Time has moved fast in the past couple of generations, and there is already about *Scrutiny* an air reminiscent of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The word "revolution" is honorific as applied to the past, but no more, please! They cling to the aesthetic revolution of their youth as a final solution, and their greatest embarrassment is to find their George Washington, Eliot, plotting new reversals.

Mr. Leavis—a somewhat heavy-handed epigone whose favorite verb is "desiderate"—has turned almost completely from the contemporary scene, and is busy filling in the details of that revised history of English literature suggested by Eliot's re-evaluations: the elevation of the Metaphysicals and Augustans, the deposition of Spenser and Shelley and Milton. He is in intent the high priest of a new orthodoxy, but before his new faith has triumphed, it has already been questioned from within; Mr. Eliot proposes the rehabilitation of Milton and Tennyson, even Kipling. No wonder the editors of *Scrutiny* are disturbed; even the past refuses to stand still long enough to be properly taught.

Mr. Leavis and his group are essentially teachers and not critics; scrupulous teachers, to be sure, interested in preparing their students to read Modern Literature; but the "standards" (Mr. Leavis's favorite noun) of "The Waste Land" are not those of Dylan Thomas, nor do those that justify "Ulysses" make "Finnegans Wake" more lucid. Mr. Leavis's students are more fortunate than those in some of our universities, still taught that Donne is a Spenser *manqué*, and that James Joyce is incomprehensible; but the extension of orthodoxy another notch is not yet living criticism.

The *Scrutiny* group, quite unlike our leading New Critics, are not creative writers. It is such poet-critics as Blackmur, Ransom, Tate, and R. P. Warren who insure the singleness of criticism and poetry among us; our own New Criticism has been immediately involved in the development and comprehension of new forms in writing; and the living practice of an art has kept our criticism resilient.

It has been remarked that British poetry suffers markedly from this lack of any intimate lien with criticism; this collection is evidence that criticism has been equally affected. Whatever the occasional triumph of insight on the part of individual *Scrutiny* writers (R. C. Churchill on Dickens, D. A. Traversi on Shakespeare), the failure of the group as a whole to come to terms with the literature of the last twenty years makes its contribution essentially—irrelevant.

LESLIE A. FIEDLER

Books in Brief

FROM DAY TO DAY. By Odd Nansen. Putnam. \$5. This diary, kept by the son of Fridtjof Nansen through three years of imprisonment in Nazi concentration camps in Norway and Germany, is one of the great documents to come out of the war—great because of its humanity, its integrity, its insight, its courage, and even its humor. Don't pass this book by because you've long since been surfeited with horrors. There are horrors in it, plenty of them, but they are not overemphasized, and the narrative characteristically ends with a plea to the victors to eschew hate and revenge and to give the Germans a fair chance to recover. An extraordinary piece of creative reporting.

THE WORLD IN TRANSITION. By G. D. H. Cole. Oxford. \$6. In this monumental work a British economist surveys the political and economic forces at work today in each of the major countries of the world. Mr. Cole has assembled an immense amount of useful material, some of which is already outdated, but as a life-long Socialist and former chairman of the Fabian Society he tends to adopt a pedagogical or even a parental attitude toward the unpredictable human animal, which stubbornly insists on going its own wilful way: shaking a stern finger at American finance capitalism while regarding the policies of the Politburo with the indulgent but

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LAND OF MILK AND HONEY. By W. L. White. Harcourt, Brace. \$3. The life story of a Soviet citizen who escaped to America. Vasili Kotov was a bright boy in a worker's family, a graduate of the Moscow Technical Institute, an engineer, and a lieutenant colonel in the air force. His description of life in Russia and how it compares with what he has seen of life in this country is pleasantly flattering to Americans.

INVESTMENT IN PEOPLE. By Edwin R. Embree and Julia Waxman. Harper. \$3. The story of a unique philanthropy: the Julius Rosenwald Fund of \$22,000,000, which was to be used within a single generation to help equalize opportunities for all Americans and particularly for the Negro. Of especial interest is the account of the contribution made toward education, medical service, and race relations.

Fiction in Review

OF ALL our writers of sensibility Elizabeth Bowen is most to be esteemed because she is most attached to life. Although her manner is not robust enough to support the major claims which are often made for her, her temper too fine, her least perception too charged with import, she is yet gratefully to be distinguished from among her literary kind—from among the writers, that is, who live by their acuteness

of feeling—in that she addresses her intention outward, to a world of the very bluntest moral truth, rather than inward, to an only private universe. Miss Bowen has a passion of moral purpose in relation to the objective world which always finally rescues her from preciousness. It establishes her as an unusually commanding novelist even when, as in her new book, "The Heat of the Day" (Knopf, \$3), her excessive concern with the subtlest interplays of the human personality makes it very difficult to come at the moral motive of her story. In the new novel the preoccupation with nuances of human response virtually belies all recognizable human conduct and quite obscures the sense of the book, simply as narrative. A reviewer "interprets" Miss Bowen's story only at the conscious risk of being wholly on the wrong track.

Myself, I understand "The Heat of the Day" as a political allegory of the war period in which it is set. I take each of its characters to stand for a class or group or tendency in contemporary English society. Thus Stella, Miss Bowen's heroine, a beautiful and gracious woman of middle years who learns that her lover is selling his country, represents, as I see it, the ever-betrayable educated, idealistic middle classes. Robert, the veteran of Dunkirk who betrays England to the enemy because he believes that only the annihilation of the old ways of life can bring any true freedom and order, I take to stand for that small, dangerous section of the disaffected intellectual class which finds its new values only in the violent destruction of the old. Harrison, the counter-spy who offers to spare Robert in return for Stella's love, represents, I think, the classless robot-spirit of modern man, the almost inhuman being who, while functioning with mechanical perfection, knows himself to be less than alive because bred without love and without any traditional ties. Roderick, Stella's son by an early disastrous marriage, inheritor of an ancestral place in Ireland, represents Miss Bowen's charming, and, I believe, accurate picture of modern youth, with its will to live dutifully and correctly, and to strengthen the links which bind the best of the past to the future. Then there is the girl Louie, who stands for the warm, eager, un-

connected lower orders. Desperate for virtue and for the emotions of being possessed, Louie moves wherever a superior power seduces her.

I realize that it over-intellectualizes Miss Bowen's novel to read it thus symbolically. And yet, without some such key to its intention, it is surely impossible to make a coherent pattern of its incongruously gathered characters and unresolved situations. The fact, however, that "The Heat of the Day" fails to make its clear point does not rob it of an ingenious and compelling narrative substance. One reads it with urgent curiosity through to an end of great frustration.

Unlike either Lionel Trilling's "The Middle of the Journey" or Humphrey Slater's "The Conspirator," two recent novels in which a leading character is dedicated to an ideal outside his own country, Miss Bowen's novel refuses the Communist gambit. The enemy cause to which Stella's lover devotes himself is Nazism. The choice is evasive or timid or perhaps merely insular, and diminishes the stature of the story. And yet with striking ease Robert could be rewritten into a Soviet instead of a Nazi agent; Miss Bowen's insight into the psychological sources of his treachery is as pertinent to the one form of totalitarianism as to the other. Indeed, though all too brief, her statement of the genesis of Robert's political turpitude, her recreation of the spying, emasculating, martyring atmosphere of his childhood, is not only the high point of Miss Bowen's novel but as brilliant as anything that has been written on the subject of treason.

Only less brilliant and even more courageous is Miss Bowen's portrait of Louie of the susceptible inarticulate heart and the vacant intellect burdened with its own emptiness. Louie has come to London from the seaside, where her parents were killed in a bombing. Perhaps the loneliest soul in all modern fiction, she waits out the war and the never-to-be-realized return of her husband in an alternation between apathetic sexual surrender and mystic identification with the "we female civilians" of the newspapers. There is a chance encounter with Stella; for Louie, Stella is all of superiority and goodness—until the newspapers carry the story of her unsanctified liaison with Robert, where-

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upon Louie feels that her own efforts to virtue have been betrayed. As a portrait of the English proletariat, the picture is no doubt biased—but biased with such love as produces its own lasting truth.

When a writer has this much gift of penetration and affection, when she has as many true and useful things to say about life as Miss Bowen always has, surely she does not need to indulge her literary "giftedness" as Miss Bowen does; she can afford, as most writers of sensibility cannot, to move straight to the heart of a matter instead of mounting delicate effect upon effect. It is not fair to accuse Miss Bowen of preferring light to heat; there is plenty of fire in her spirit. It is her style which dampens it—the relentless play of manner and mannerism to which her moral intention must constantly yield.

DIANA TRILLING

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

MY NAME IS AQUILON (Lyceum Theater) is a comedy adapted by Philip Barry from the French of Jean Pierre Aumont. Mr. Aumont, an actor of considerable blond and boyish charm, has been seen here previously only in the movies but is himself playing the leading role, and perhaps the first thing to be said about the piece is that he has written himself quite a part. All the other characters spend most of their time saying how completely irresistible he is, and all the women—except the maid, who is given no opportunity to express herself—are confessedly in love with him. His em-

ployer's virginal daughter moves into his garret apartment, his employer's secretary pleads in vain for at least one evening of his time, and his employer's wife seriously considers accepting his suggestion that she set him up in style in exchange for such routine attentions as he will find himself able to give her. It is a considerable tribute to Mr. Aumont's personality that he can get away with this as well as he does, but even so it is hard not to feel that it is being laid on pretty thick. Who does he think he is? Sacha Guitry?

Ostensibly the subject of the play is the corrupting effect upon character of the German occupation. That subject is touched upon ever so lightly in connection with our hero's employer, the rich industrialist who refused even the most venial cooperation with the conquerors but who, now that the war is over, is dealing in black-market gold. Chiefly, however, it is supposed to be discussed as the real explanation of the paradoxical hero himself. He had been a minor figure in the underground movement. During a few years of shadowy existence when everything was topsyturvy he had lost his moral bearings and all sense of reality. Since it was honorable then to cheat the Germans, he no longer has any sense that anything is either honorable or dishonorable, and since it was necessary to lie then, he no longer even knows himself what is true and what is not. He wears a Legion of Honor ribbon bought at the corner and tells wild tales of military exploits in Libya, where he has never been. In what, I suppose, is the big scene he convinces the virgin that there is no use trying to maintain a distinction between truth and fantasy. If they will both just believe that he is Aquilon, spirit of the north wind, or, for that matter, the Emperor of China, he will, for all practical purposes be just that.

This, I say, is ostensibly the subject. In actual fact it is not much more than an up-to-date excuse for a lightly satiric sex comedy touched with sentiment, and brought suddenly to a somewhat inconclusive happy end when the virgin has got herself more or less permanently installed in the garret. Lili Palmer, who plays this heroine, is a Vienna-born ingenue also previously seen here only in the films, and she plays her part with

a good deal of tenuous charm. Arlene Francis is very agreeable as the wife, and Lawrence Fletcher acts with considerable suavity the quite conventional role of the respectable industrialist gone slightly crooked. But the merely artificial comedy does not mix too well with the pretentiousness of the pseudo-theme, and the total effect is not very satisfactory unless one is willing to accept a certain light gracefulness in the writing and an occasional whimsical line as enough in themselves.

One is tempted to make perhaps rather too much of the fact that "The Mad Woman of Chaillot," the other recent French play now on Broadway, is also a flight into fantasy and a suggestion that the sanest people are those who cannot tell the difference between desire and truth. One is tempted to ask whether that means that the French writer has found recent reality more than he can bear and is deliberately choosing for himself the world which his imagination can easily make rather than the world he finds it too difficult to face. But in the case of "My Name Is Aquilon" that is probably somewhat of an over-interpretation.

Its tricky, rather inconsistent shifts of tone and incident are probably due more than anything else to the well-known tendency of the actor-playwright not to think very far ahead from one scene to another and to be content if he can keep the action moving down to the last curtain. At least this play ends where sentimental sex comedies ought to end—with the two lovers united in a garret.

Films

ANTHONY
BOWER

BEFORE expanding on the statement that "A Letter to Three Wives" is a remarkably mature as well as a highly entertaining film, it would be well to make it quite clear that its content is presented in a form as conventional as a Valentine Day gift-wrapping, and that the situations it exploits are just about as inspired as the ones usually employed in the soap operas, of which at one point it makes such devastating if slightly hackneyed fun. The device employed as the main prop of

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N 2-26-49

the plot is painfully contrived—a letter from a small-town siren to three of her women friends stating that she has eloped with one of their husbands and providing an opportunity for flashbacks of their marital pasts; and all that is surprising about the dénouement is that anyone but the *Cosmopolitan*, where the story originated, dared to use it.

Perhaps it was wise, though, for the film to present itself in such a palatable form, for I suspect it of dealing, rather clandestinely, with a subject from which American literature and drama has constantly shied away—the class struggle not in the Marxist sense but in the sense of a conflict of manners and *mores*. In a recent and very brilliant article, Art and Fortune, in *Partisan Review* Lionel Trilling wrote, "In this country the real basis of the novel has never existed—that is, the tension between a middle class and an aristocracy which brings manners into observable relief as the living representation of ideals and the living comment on ideas. Our class structure has been extraordinarily fluid . . ." It is with this statement that the present film joins issue, for actually what it is dealing with in at least two of the three episodes is exactly the "conflict between a middle class and an aristocracy." True, all the protagonists have a foot in both classes and what represents "the living comment on ideas" belongs to both sides of the tracks, but the extraordinary thing about the film is that it does seem to present rather subtly and with considerable conviction the idea that our class structure is fluid only to the extent that people can float in and out of it with remarkable ease and without disturbing the structure itself, and that it has certain ideas and ideals which are the products of the structure itself and not of the Constitution—which to date has been Hollywood's fountainhead for all that is good in our culture. The end product of this first—if I am right—Hollywood movie *d'idées* is the rather pleasing concept of an Aristocracy Open

to All as a counter-irritant to the rather depressing idea of Henry Wallace's Age of the Common Man.

It might surprise many members of the audience and even the makers of the film that anyone could read such thoughts into a film ostensibly dealing with one girl getting drunk at a country-club dance, another marrying a man for money, and a third coming into conflict with her husband in a struggle between the values of school-teaching and of commercial radio. However, it is my firm personal conviction that Joseph Manckiewicz, who wrote the screen play and directed the picture, meant a good deal more than he actually said—which is in itself amusing enough.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

OUTSTANDING on RCA Victor's February list is the recording (DM-1231, \$4.75) of Beethoven's fine Sonata Opus 69 for cello and piano, beautifully played by Fournier and Schnabel except for a somewhat hurried and driving treatment of the first movement that is less effective than the reposeful and spacious treatment of it in the old Casals-Schulhof version. Casals's own style is more spacious and grand than Fournier's; but this is of less consequence than the difference between Schnabel's incisive clarity and Schulhof's flabbiness. The new recording gives us a well-integrated performance by two artists on equal terms; the old one the performance of a great artist and his mediocre and subservient accompanist; and the difference is emphasized by the better balance of the instruments in the new recording (surfaces, however, are noisy).

Again in the Casals-Horszowski recording of Beethoven's Opus 5 No. 2, which Victor never issued here and has made available now only on imported H. M. V. records that I have heard through the kindness of the Elaine Shop, Casals is heard with an excellent pianist but a sensitive and deferential one whose playing is lorded over by the powerful Casals style. Whereas in the Piatigorsky-Schnabel version, no longer in the Victor catalogue, Schnabel's play-

ing stands out through its wonderful inflection of phrase, but Piatigorsky's unusually restrained and beautiful playing nevertheless has equality of status.

Also outstanding is the *Incarnatus* from Mozart's Mass in C minor, beautifully sung for the most part by Erna Berger, soprano, with Josef Krips conducting a fine performance by the Philharmonia Orchestra (12-0692). And some of the great singing Eleanor Steber has been doing in recent years, excellently accompanied by the same orchestra under Susskind, is to be heard in Micaela's aria from "Carmen" and the aria from "Louise" (12-0690). Morel conducts a Victor orchestra in a well-paced and finished performance of the duet *Parle-moi de ma mère* from "Carmen," which is excellently sung by Quartararo and Vinay (12-0687). And Svanholm's ringing and somewhat harsh *Heldentenor* is heard in *Höchstes Vertrauen* and *In fernem Land* from "Lohengrin" (12-0691). After which it is a relief to hear Bjoerling's beautiful voice and phrasing in *Salut, demeure* from "Faust" and some of the other arias assembled in Set MO-1275 (\$4.75)—though even he doesn't give us the *pp* and *morendo* at the end of *Celeste Aida* (and some bass-notes are too heavily recorded for tracking).

Poulenc's "Metamorphoses" and "Le Bestiaire"—which, with no knowledge of the words, I find uninteresting—are excellently sung by Pierre Bernac with the composer at the piano (12-0426).

Beecham and the Royal Philharmonic have recorded the exquisite Scherzo from Mendelssohn's Octet—a performance that is more leisurely and relaxed than the brilliant virtuoso performance of Toscanini and the N. B. C. Symphony; one that is light, clear, and lovely-sounding, and that is beautifully reproduced (12-0688, with an excerpt from Massenet's "La Vierge"). Also Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 3 ("Polish"), which has good moments—the superb introduction, the charming scherzo—but is not a work of much consequence as a whole, and is excellently performed and recorded except for the usual heaviness of bass (DM-1279, \$7.25).

And Copland's Sonata (1939-41) for piano has been recorded by Leonard Bernstein (DM-1278, \$4.75). The percussive work makes no more sense to me this time than when I heard it

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Look Yorkward, Angels

Dear Sirs: In writing of the short happy life of the New York *Star* (né PM) Freda Kirchwey raises some good and thoughtful questions about the possibilities of a liberal daily in America.

Her conclusions are, perhaps with reason, more tinged with gloom than cheer. Wistfully, however, she notes the emergence of a successful labor daily in Winnipeg, Manitoba. To that, the comment might be, "Look homeward, Angel." For there is being published in our own country a small but thriving daily which I've come to know in the last year and which is a positive inspiration.

The York (Pa.) *Gazette and Daily* is a dignified and down-to-earth liberal daily in a city of about 55,000 people. Its editorial page I find quite extraordinary, containing, as it does, contributors of the caliber of I. F. Stone, Max Lerner, Theodore White, Albert Deutsch, and other writers less well known but equally stimulating. I commend it with enthusiasm to readers of *The Nation*.

JOHN G. CONLEY

Detroit, February 5

Some Questions About THAT Trial

Dear Sirs: A man recently returned from the snowbound West would be startled by the size and violence of the newspaper headlines. He would surely think that a shooting war had been declared. What else could justify such headlines? Subsequent reading would inform him that the excitement was about the trial, confession, and conviction of the Catholic Cardinal of Hungary.

May I raise a tiny sheaf of inquiry in the whirlwind of denunciation?

There were many statements made on high authority, and freely quoted as the truth, that the Cardinal had been tortured and drugged. Is there the slightest *proof* of this? I have seen none in the papers.

American officials and papers deliberately gave the impression that "outside" reporters had been denied admission to the trial. Yet the papers printed what presumably were eyewitness accounts by a United Press correspondent and by a British reporter.

Assuming that the Cardinal's trial was biased and unfair, was it any more so than the recent trial in the Mallard case in Georgia, which led to the acquittal of the men accused of murdering a Negro? But President Truman didn't denounce *that* trial as "infamous," and I saw no protests from any other government officials in Washington, or from high churchmen, or from Hungary. If there *were* any, they certainly did not receive space or headlines comparable to the Cardinal.

So far as I can determine, the trials in Hungary were conducted along the lines of jurisprudence—a modified Napoleonic Code—which prevail all through continental Europe. We may prefer the English system here. But isn't it more than impertinent of us to denounce another nation because it prefers to use its own system?

R. H. THRONE

Brooklyn, February 14

Lions and Caviar

Dear Sirs: There are familiar echoes in the interesting article by Edwin J. Lukas (in *The Nation*, February 12) on the trumped-up charges brought against Dr. Miriam Van Waters in an attempt to oust her from her position as head of the state women's reformatory in Massachusetts.

Some years ago exactly the same thing was done to Howard B. Gill, one of the ablest penologists in the United States, who was in charge of the state prison at Norfolk, Massachusetts. The charges against him included (1) that he ate caviar, and (2) that his housekeeper brought a baby chicken into his residence in order to show a painter the color desired on certain walls.

Mr. Gill later accepted the superintendency of penal institutions in the District of Columbia. Since his appointment was made solely on merit and he played no politics, once again some people determined to "get" him, and did so. This time the charges included (1) that he became angry when iron bars, potential weapons in a jail break, were discovered in an attic which he had ordered cleaned out, and (2) that he hurt the feelings of trustees when he rebuked them for disobedience.

The proceedings of both sets of hearings read like raw material for Gilbert

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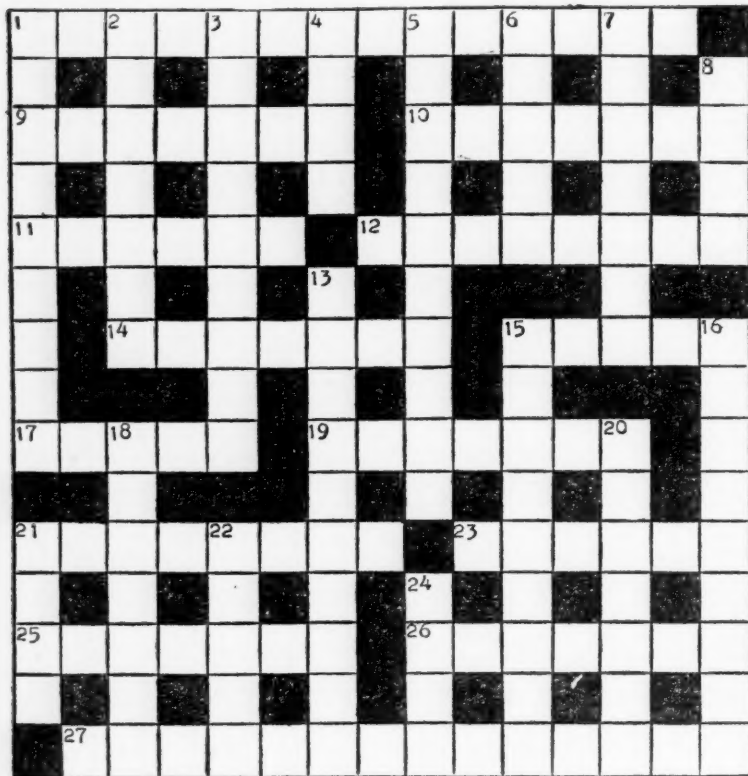
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Crossword Puzzle No. 302

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Could Mary's execution be considered an example, grammatically speaking? (8, 6)
 9 Globes I made somewhat out of shape. (7)
 10 Better make the little devil wander. (7)
 11 This bird is a relative to little sister. (6)
 12 Cheer his disappearing type. (8)
 14 Suckling asked if looking ill would. (7)
 15 Sao Salvador is where I and Jezebel's husband got mixed up. (5)
 17 and 23. I and Adam both might be. (5, 6)
 19 Silence perhaps, or put down as such. (7)
 21 Browning said we French stormed it. (8)
 23 See 17.
 25 France was called this first. (7)
 26 An Irving hero in unorganized labor activity. (7)
 27 Gridders don't get the lift out of these that some folks do. (5, 3, 6)

DOWN

- 1 Sounds like it admits itself to be far from tender. (9)
 2 Sissy! (7)

- 3 "Celerity is never more admir'd than by the -----." (Anthony and Cleopatra.) (9)
 4 Tweed from this drawer was hardly becoming. (4)
 5 He put lime, I discovered, as a protective coat. (10)
 6 Cats-paws. (5)
 7 The lion of the stone age. (7)
 8 He is, somewhat ungrammatically, a cup-bearer. (4)
 13 Andromeda's mother. (10)
 15 Her work keeps her on her toes. (9)
 16 Region of the great nine. (9)
 18 Sounds like the one about the country cousin is kept in the file. (7) (hyphenated)
 20 Has something out on the end of a limb to sit on. (7)
 21 Remarque's is back! (4)
 22 Zeno, for example. (5)
 24 Boss of the poker game? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 301

ACROSS:—1 BONDSMAN; 5 CHISEL; 10 EXTOL; 11 GREENBACK; 12 DEPRAVE; 13 STIFFEN; 14 SPEAKS; 15 DIGRESS; 16 UNROBED; 21 CANTON; 24 BRAMBLY; 26 RATTLER; 27 ROMAN NOSE; 28 RHETT; 29 YORICK; 30 ISOLATED.
 DOWN:—1 BLENDS; 2 NOTEPAPER; 3 SULTANA; 4 ALGIERS; 6 HANGING; 7 STAFF; 8 LIKENESS; 9 VERSED; 16 EMOLLIENT; 17 MULBERRY; 19 BUBONIC; 20 DAYTON; 21 CARTELS; 22 NATURAL; 23 GRATED; 25 ARMOR.

and Sullivan operettas; but a man of outstanding integrity, social conscience, specialized knowledge, and administrative ability was thrown to the lions because of them. Incidentally, the lions broke their teeth on Mr. Gill's tough, resilient, and gay spirit; he is not only far from crushed but completely unharmed. His professional reputation grows as it becomes necessary for the District of Columbia to adopt one after another of the policies which he advocated and which were called "impracticable." This, however, does not excuse either the District or Massachusetts. The record of the latter in many public fields is truly terrible; not only the Lukas article but the review of the book on Sacco and Vanzetti in your same issue will remind the world of more of its blots. May that record improve as the case of Dr. Van Waters is decided.

M. E. OATMAN

Chevy Chase, Md., February 14

"Progress Has No Greater Ally" Than the Church

Dear Sirs: I have read your editorial comments (in *The Nation*, January 22) on my *Commonweal* survey and I am afraid that *The Nation* still misses the point.

Catholics do not, of course, take their politics from the church in the sense that the church tells them how to vote. Yet Catholics cannot help being affected by Catholic principles. In so far as legitimate political legislation is concerned, these principles are definitely progressive. There was not a single progressive vote in the Eightieth Congress that could not have found support in Catholic social encyclicals or in the public pronouncements of the American bishops.

As a matter of fact, Catholic social and economic teachings are still in advance of American public opinion. The Bishops' Statement of 1919 is still so progressive that much of it is unrealized. Such church leaders as Archbishop Robert Lucey, Bishop Francis J. Haas, and Bishop Bernard Sheil, to name only three of many, have contributed more to real social and economic progress than most of our secular leaders. Catholic teaching is definitely progressive. I would be the first to agree that there are Catholics who do not live up to these principles. Just as the church has for centuries taught the wrongness of sin and still has sinners, so the church, teaching justice, still has members who practice injustice.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., *The Nation*, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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Why, then, if I am correct that the church is in principle on the side of real progress, is it so persistently attacked as reactionary? (*The Nation*, for example, has almost every week for several years criticized the church in some way, and not more than once ever printed anything favorable.)

I think the explanation is to be found in a fundamental conflict between Catholic and secular thought. To the secularists, God has no right outside the church building. To the Catholic, God is concerned with far more things than man recognizes. To the secularist, it is stupid and reactionary for the church to oppose birth control. To the Catholic, it is a moral question where the state has no right to tread. So to those who imagine that birth control, euthanasia, and such similar state interventions into the moral realm constitute the difference between being a progressive and a reactionary, Catholics are reactionary.

I trust the common sense of the people, and I think that eventually the people will realize that true progress has no greater ally than the Catholic church, which teaches all members the most radical doctrine of all—that which says we must see Christ in all men and, seeing Him in all men, treat them as we would treat Him.

DALE FRANCIS

Department of Public Information,
University of Notre Dame
South Bend, Ind., February 7

[*The Nation is a political, not a denominational, journal. It has not sought to print anything "favorable" or unfavorable to the Roman Catholic or any other religion per se. It has frequently—but not "almost every week"—criticized religious hierarchies, including the Roman Catholic hierarchy, when the editors felt that their acts and edicts concerned secular matters and might thus be discussed and criticized in public and in the public interest.*

Many a Roman Catholic individual and a good many Roman Catholic organizations have received praise from *The Nation* for some liberal or otherwise meritorious act or stand: for example, those Roman Catholic individuals and organizations who last year fought, as did *The Nation*, for better housing in America. These, as many others, were praised for their liberalism rather than their Catholicism, as Nehru has been praised in these pages as a statesman, not as a Hindu.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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